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# China Report

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## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 23, 1 December 1983

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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<p>ERRATUM: In JPRS 84982 of 20 December 1983, No. 21 of this series, in article titled "Explanations of Several Important Notions in 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'" on page 77, lines 21-23 should read: (that is, have high ideals, moral integrity, culture, and discipline; stress on army appearance and bearing, decorum, and hygiene; and defiance of hardships and difficulties and sacrifice).</p>	



THE YANAN RECTIFICATION IS COMRADE MAO ZEDONG'S GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO PARTY BUILDING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 83 pp 2-10

[Article by Feng Xianzhi]

[Text] This year, when we are marking the 90th birthday of Comrade Mao Zedong, our party has just begun the all-round party rectification in accordance with the decision of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. The current party rectification will be another party rectification of great significance and far-reaching effect since the 1942 Yanan rectification. It is very meaningful for us to review the historical experiences of the Yanan rectification and to study in these particular days the relevant discussions of Comrade Mao Zedong. This is also a very good way to commemorate the late Comrade Mao Zedong.

I

The Yanan rectification was a most brilliant page in our party history; it was also a great pioneering undertaking in the international communist movement. It has played and continues to play a tremendous role in the course of our party building.

It was by no means accidental that the Yanan rectification should have taken place in the early 1940's. It was the inevitable necessity of the development of the Chinese revolution at that time, with a profound historical background.

Our party had a history of two decades from its founding to the early 1940's. During that period, the Chinese revolution had achieved great victories while suffering serious setbacks; there were experiences of successes and also lessons in failure. In order to lead the Chinese revolution to continue marching forward, it was extremely necessary for our party to sum up the experiences of the Chinese revolution so that the whole party might draw a demarcation line between the correct guiding ideology and the wrong one, further master the scientific thinking of combining Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution, heighten the conscientiousness of implementing the correct line, principle, and policy, and on this basis, realize the unification of the whole party in ideology and politics and unanimity in action.

Between the Zunyi meeting and the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee, our party criticized and corrected Wang Ming's "leftist" errors in the latter part of the 10-year civil war and his rightist errors at the initial stage of the war of resistance against Japan. Nonetheless, because there was not enough time to sum up systematically on a partywide scope the historical experiences and lessons of the party and to carry on overall ideological education from the top to the grassroots level with leadership, the pernicious effects of Wang Ming's errors, which were mainly subjectivism and sectarianism expressed in the effects of stereotyped party writing in the whole party, had not been eliminated. It impeded the unification and unanimity of the party, and even continued to bring injuries to the revolutionary cause in some regions and some aspects in a certain period. Some comrades within the party lacked correct understanding of Wang Ming's errors, while others, though they understood such errors, were not very clear about why such errors should have taken place and what could have been the causes of them.

After the war of resistance against Japan broke out, a large number of revolutionaries of petite bourgeois origin joined the party. They had revolutionary enthusiasm but had not received a comparatively systematic education in Marxism and had not gone through strict ideological remolding. They had brought with them into the party some petite bourgeois and nonproletarian ideas, feelings, and styles. It was easier for them to accept and appreciate some empty revolutionary phrases and to display shortcomings and defects that were counter to the requirements for the party spirit of the proletariat. These new party members accounted for an overwhelming majority in the party at that time. This provided certain soil for the growth of subjectivism, sectarianism, and party jargon in the party.

The CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong initiated the partywide rectification campaign precisely to change the situation of incomplete unanimity in ideological thinking and the rather complicated ideological conditions inside the party. At that time, our party was at the most difficult stage of the anti-Japanese war, which was then locked in a stalemate. In order to overcome the difficulties, it was also necessary and possible to carry out a partywide rectification.

The universal rectification at that time had gone through long-term preparations in politics, ideology, theory, and organization. As Comrade Mao Zedong put it, such preparations had been in progress since the Zunyi meeting, and the period of preparations could be roughly divided into two stages.

During the period between the Zunyi meeting and the time prior to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the experiences of the Chinese revolution in its political line and military line separately, criticized Wang Ming's political strategy of "leftist" closed-doorism and his military "leftist" dogmatism, and formulated the correct political tactics and the strategy and tactics of the Chinese revolutionary war. He continued to sum up the experiences of the Chinese revolution on the high plane of Marxist world outlook and

methodology, revealing the essence of the errors of dogmatism, and thus provided a powerful philosophical-ideological weapon for the partywide rectification.

During the period between the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee and the time prior to the beginning of the 1942 partywide rectification, our party corrected Wang Ming's error of rightist capitulationism at the initial stage of the anti-Japanese war. The dominating position of the correct line, with Comrade Mao Zedong as its representative, was further consolidated and strengthened in the whole party.

Comrade Mao Zedong continued to do a tremendous amount of work in ideological theory, systematically expounded the basic principle of Marxism on combining theory with practice, and criticized the erroneous ideas of subjectivism. At the proposal of Comrade Mao Zedong, the CPC Central Committee organized senior cadres of the party to study the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism, to study and do research on the party history, to sum up the historical experiences of the party, and to clarify what was right or wrong in the political line. As a result, a fundamentally unanimous understanding was reached on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and a basic condition was created for the partywide rectification.

By the spring of 1942, the condition for a partywide rectification was ripe and the universal unfolding of the rectification campaign was then an inevitability. In February that year, Comrade Mao Zedong made the well-known speeches "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" and "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing," and explicitly proposed that the tasks for the partywide rectification should be opposing subjectivism so as to rectify the style in studying, opposing sectarianism so as to rectify the party's style, and opposing stereotyped party writing so as to rectify the style of writing. Thereupon, a partywide universal rectification campaign began.

## II

The most important task of the Yanan rectification was to oppose subjectivism, to solve the contradiction between Marxism and subjectivism inside the party, and to arm the whole party with the principle of combining Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution.

Over a long period of time, our party had been dominated by subjectivism. The injuries inflicted on the party by subjectivism had been extremely grave; it had almost ruined the cause of the Chinese revolution. Whether it was the rightist opportunism of Chen Duxiu or the "leftist" opportunism of Wang Ming, both their ideologies took root in subjectivism.

Nonetheless, people had not understood this problem for a long time. Therefore, errors had continued to take place in succession. Take the period of the second civil war. As soon as Comrade Qu Chiubai's error was corrected, there appeared the error of Comrade Li Lisan. No sooner was Comrade Li Lisan's error corrected than there was the error of Wang Ming.

There were mistakes time and again, while in their ideology there was one thing in common, namely, the divorce of theory from practice and the incongruity between the subjective will and the objective realities. They did not proceed from the actual conditions in understanding and solving problems, but proceeded from books or their subjective will or copied foreign experiences.

Since the Zunyi meeting, the CPC Central Committee, with Comrade Mao Zedong as its representative, had proceeded from the actual conditions and formulated and implemented a line, principles, and policies in conformity with the objective conditions which enabled the Chinese revolution to adopt a road of victorious development. It can be clearly seen from the positive and negative experiences of the Chinese revolution that to oppose and correct subjectivism in the guiding ideology of the party is a matter of life and death of our party.

Under the circumstances at that time, dogmatism, among various forms of the ideological methodology of subjectivism, was the greatest danger to the revolution. Dogmatists had once bewildered and captured many people, and it was not easy to reveal the errors of dogmatism and to eliminate its pernicious effects. The Marxist explanations which Comrade Mao Zedong made on the definitions of theory and theorists played an important role in exposing the deception of dogmatism.

He said: "There is only one genuine theory in the world, namely, the theory drawn from and again proved by objective practice. Save that, no other things in question are worth the name of theory." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 775) Only when we study and solve practical problems with a Marxist view is it possible for us to give the problem a scientific explanation and a theoretical demonstration and for us to become the theorists and needed by our party. ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 772)

These incisive discussions by Comrade Mao Zedong clarified some muddled ideas which had long existed within the party and raised people's ideological understanding to a new level, enabling some people who had committed errors of dogmatism or who had been deceived by it to widely wake up from their perplexity and to understand that empty theories divorced from practice were not genuine theories and that such "theories" were not only of no help but very harmful to the revolution. People who can only recite some phrases of Marxism-Leninism but do not apply them, or who do not know how to apply them cannot be counted as theorists by any means.

In the struggle against subjectivism, with dogmatism as its chief expression, Comrade Mao Zedong specially emphasized that communists should devote their efforts to the study of the actual conditions of China, including its history and present conditions. It was necessary to have a grasp of the spiritual essence of Marxism-Leninism, to apply it to the concrete environment of China, to link Marxist-Leninist theories with the practice of the Chinese revolution, and to create new things in China.

Dogmatists such as Wang Ming precisely ran counter to this. They only talked about the experiences of foreign countries uncritically. They lived only on books and had fundamentally "forgotten their duty to learn and create new things." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 756) They themselves had no positive initiatives, but destroyed the initiatives in others, suppressing the growth of all new ideas.

During their control of the whole party, revolutionary ideas were uninformed and their thinking became ossified. As a result, there was no vitality to speak of in the party, and the Chinese revolution was led almost into a dead alley. Therefore, the Yanan rectification had to primarily aim against dogmatism inside the party, in particular, Wang Ming's "leftist" dogmatism.

Stereotyped party writing was the expression of subjectivism in the style of writing; without the elimination of stereotyped party writing, lively revolutionary ideas would fail to be inspired, the truth-seeking spirit would fail to be carried forward, and there would still be a hiding place for subjectivism. Therefore, in order to thoroughly oppose subjectivism, it was necessary to oppose stereotyped party writing simultaneously.

We should point out: The struggle against subjectivism and dogmatism did not mean in any sense that the study of Marxist-Leninist theories could be relaxed or neglected in the least; instead, stronger stress on the important task of studying theory was made. In the party history, the reason why the erroneous leadership of dogmatism was able to dominate the whole party was precisely the weakness of a low level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism on the part of the whole party (and of course, the low level of understanding in the Chinese revolution). People failed to recognize the pseudo-Marxist-Leninist things spread by dogmatists, and even if they did, they lacked the theoretical weapon to fight against them.

Comrade Mao Zedong had long felt the seriousness of this problem. He not only proposed to the whole party the task of studying Marxist-Leninist theories, but earnestly practiced what he advocated and devoted tremendous efforts in studying Marxist-Leninist theories with China's revolutionary practice, and had written many famous works on Marxism-Leninism. He also gave direct guidance to the leading comrades in the CPC Central Committee on studying Marxist philosophy.

The Yanan rectification was unfolded on the basis of the requirement that senior cadres should work hard to master Marxist-Leninist theories, while the theoretical level of the whole party was heightened in the course of the rectification. At the expanded conference of the Political Bureau held in September 1941, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the theorization of the Chinese revolution in line with Marxism, so as to expound the importance of summing up the experience of the Chinese revolution with Marxist theories. This idea is of great theoretical value and significance in practice. Together with the idea of "making Marxism concrete in China," it has demonstrated the ideological principle of linking the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution in two aspects.



"The truth of Marxism-Leninism will rise only when subjectivism is overthrown." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 758) The Yanan rectification criticized subjectivism, dogmatism in particular, on the one hand; on the other, it developed the principle of combining Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. Thus, the spirit of the broad party members was enabled to be emancipated from the bondage of subjectivism, in particular, dogmatism. That is why the Yanan rectification was said to be a great ideological emancipation campaign, which has opened up a broad way for the development of Marxism-Leninism in China.

The greatest feat of the Yanan rectification was to make the whole party master the fundamental orientation of combining Marxism-Leninism with China's revolutionary practice and to learn the method of solving practical problems of the revolution with Marxist-Leninist theories. Thus, it established the ideological unification of the party on this basis.

### III

Opposing sectarianism was another major task for the Yanan rectification.

In order to realize the unification of the whole party, it was not enough to achieve unification in ideology; there also had to be unification in organization, with which to guarantee the unification of ideology. The struggle against sectarianism was to solve the problem of ensuring the unification of the whole party in the organizational line.

In the party history, subjectivism and sectarianism coexisted and were interdependent. While the guiding ideology was subjectivism, the organizational line was inevitably sectarian. Sectarianism developed with the growth of subjectivism, and conversely supported the domination of the leadership of subjectivism, helping the growth of subjectivism. Therefore, in order to thoroughly oppose subjectivism, it was essential to thoroughly oppose sectarianism at the same time.

After the Zunyi conference, sectarianism no longer played the dominant role inside the party. However, its remnants still existed, for instance, mountain stronghold mentality, small group mentality, disunity between one department or region with another, and so on.

The various expressions of sectarianism within the party, as listed by Comrade Mao Zedong in "Rectify the Style of the Party," all had to be opposed and corrected.

However, the most dangerous of them, which would bring the greatest injury to the party, was the refusal to obey the leadership. It sabotaged the unification of the party, injured the unity of the party, and was fundamentally antagonistic to the organizational principle of the proletarian political party, and it had to be resolutely opposed and corrected in particular.

Those who refuse to obey the leadership fail to acquire an overall point of view. They are incorrect in handling the relation between the interests of the part and the interests of the whole, "they always put undue stress on that part of the work for which they themselves are responsible and always wish to subordinate the interests of the whole to the interests of their own part." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 779) They even injure and sacrifice the interests of the whole for the interests of the part.

They have no sense of discipline. They forget that the minority is subordinate to the majority, that the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, that the part is subordinate to the whole. In particular, they forget the most fundamental principle inside the party--that the whole is subordinate to the party Central Committee. They disregard the principle that the party Central Committee is to concentrate the will of the whole party, holding themselves wiser than the party Central Committee. They attach no attention to the resolutions and instructions of the Central Committee, while going their own way; or obey part of them, while disobeying the rest, obeying the part that suits them, or vice versa. "They have confused the correct things as bringing forward the ability to work independently and the creativity of Marxism with erroneous things such as disobedience of the higher level, disobedience of the majority, disobedience of the party Central Committee, making the individual antagonistic to the party and above the party (making oneself conspicuous), and individualistic heroism (which differs from national heroism and heroism of the masses)." (Outline for propaganda drafted by Mao Zedong for the Propaganda Department under the CPC Central Committee, 26 January 1942)

They have no sense of unity. They fail to understand that the unity of the party is the lifeline of the party and that the unique center of unity of the party is the party Central Committee. The party organizations and work of any region or any department are an inseparable part, under the unified leadership of the Central Committee.

They have no sense of the masses. They are not willing to make the interests of their own minority subject to the interests of the whole party and the whole people. They only think of the interests of a minority of people and totally forget the interests of the whole party and the whole people. In cadre policy, they appoint people by favoritism but not on their merits. They draw people of their kind over to their side, while elbowing out and attacking those who disagree with their opinion. They gang up to be factions, forming a system of their own.

Zhang Guotao was an extremely grave example of asserting independence from the Central Committee of the party. Comrade Mao Zedong often cited this example to warn the whole party, to prevent the occurrence of such a phenomenon, and to eliminate various phenomena of disunification. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We should encourage comrades to take the interests of the whole into account. Every party member, every branch of work, every statement, and every action must proceed from the interests of the whole party. It is absolutely impermissible to violate this principle."

("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 779) This should become a motto for every one of us communists.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: Those who assert this kind of "independence" are usually wedded to the doctrine of "me first" and are generally wrong on the question of the relationship between the individual and the party. Although in words they profess respect for the party, in practice they put themselves first and the party second.

This analysis by Comrade Mao Zedong is applicable not only to those who assert independence, but to all who are engaged in sectarianism. To oppose sectarianism is in essence to solve the problem of the relations between the individual and the party and between the part and the whole.

Sectarianism is an expression of individualism of the bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie interwoven with the mentality of the feudal guild system inside the party. It is diametrically opposed to the party spirit of the proletariat and the spirit of communism. Those who have not gone through education in Marxism, those who have not been strictly trained in party spirit are easily stained with the mentality of sectarianism and make it grow in them.

Therefore, it is absolutely essential to conduct ideological education within the party in taking the interests of the whole into account, observing discipline, consolidating unity, and setting up ties with the masses, and to conduct education in the party spirit of subjecting personal interests to the interests of the party while advocating the spirit of communism. The struggle against sectarianism in the Yanan rectification was to conduct systematic education in this field among party cadres and the broad party members.

#### IV

The Yanan rectification was a struggle of Marxism against subjectivism, of proletarian ideology against nonproletarian ideology. In this struggle, various nonproletarian ideologies could not but give expression to themselves, and liberalism was one of the most conspicuous of them.

Liberalism existed rather universally and seriously inside the party at that time. Some people failed to tell right from wrong politically and ideologically, failing to criticize or wage struggle against erroneous speeches, but coexisted with erroneous ideas in peace and went so far as to show sympathy for them. They resented the practice of criticism of erroneous speeches and were sentimental toward those who had been criticized for their erroneous speeches, holding that the criticism had gone to extremes.

Some people advocated absolute freedom of speech and action; they denied and even felt disgusted with the party's principle and the sense of organization and discipline. They put their personal opinions in first place while caring not for organization and discipline. Grounded on the stress for "democracy," some people advocated the free development of



various kinds of ideology and opposed the correction of erroneous ideas in accordance with party principle on the part of the leadership. Some people violated the party's principle, arbitrarily spreading all kinds of rumors that injured the party and the interests of the revolution, and so on and so forth. All these expressions of liberalism in ideology, politics, and organization gravely injured the unified will, unified action, and unified discipline of the party.

Therefore, it was very essential for the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong to regard correcting the trend of liberalism as an important part of the rectification to be carried out universally in the whole party.

When speaking of problems concerning the rectification, Comrade Mao Zedong and comrades in leading posts of the localities at that time, such as Comrade Deng Xiaoping, placed the struggle against liberalism on the same important plane as the struggle against subjectivism, sectarianism, and stereotyped party writing.

Directed at the situation of the flood of liberalism and various erroneous ideas, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed that it was essential to refute erroneous ideas in an organized way.

Speaking of this problem in a report made to an advanced study group on 28 May 1942, he said: In a place where communists are in the majority, it happens that no one stands out and refutes erroneous ideas when they appear. Some people lack the courage to refute erroneous ideas when they actually know those ideas to be wrong. It is essential to expand the effects of Marxism, and erroneous opinions should not be developed. The growth of petite bourgeois ideology has affected the growth of the correct ideology of the proletariat in breadth. When an erroneous opinion occurs, a communist should uphold principle and immediately refute the opinion.

On the one hand, free expression should be given to whatever opinions; on the other, refutation should be organized against erroneous views. These two aspects are inseparable. This statement by Comrade Mao Zedong has demonstrated the firm Marxist stand which a communist should take.

The Zunyi meeting held in January 1935 ended the domination of the Central Committee of the party by the "leftist" errors with Wang Ming as the representative, and reestablished the correct line.

However, there also appeared some mistakes and deviations after the Zunyi meeting; they were chiefly the growth of liberalism. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: Before the Zunyi meeting, the main trend within the party was "leftism" and struggle which had been carried to extremes. After the Zunyi meeting, the chief bad tendency within the party was liberalism. Though struggle which had been carried to extremes still existed, and in some places the phenomenon was still rather grave, it was no longer the main trend in the whole party. Nonetheless, some comrades who had committed "leftist" errors in the past, again committed mistakes of rightist liberalism after the Zunyi conference.

After the Zunyi meeting, our party implemented the correct policy of leniency inside and outside the party in correcting "leftist" errors. For instance, inside the party, whoever had committed a mistake would be dealt with in accordance with the lenient policy so long as he resolutely corrected himself. This policy had achieved a good result. Nonetheless, in the concrete implementation of this policy, it had been incorrectly explained by some localities and departments, resulting in changing the lenient policy into liberalism.

Short of a serious attitude in the treatment of cadres, some departments focused on unity and education while neglecting the criticism of and even necessary struggle against their errors. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: This was a misunderstanding of the policy of leniency, resulting in benumbing oneself and making oneself muddleheaded. The party's correct policy on cadres should be: First, unity; second, criticism should be practiced when mistakes occur. ("Mao Zedong's Speech at the Senior Cadres Conference of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Area," November 1942) When opposing carrying struggle to extremes inside the party, it did not mean to substitute it with unprincipled peace within the party, eliminating active ideological struggle. We should correctly unfold criticism, uphold the truth, and revise our errors.

Back in 1937, Comrade Mao Zedong published the article "Combat Liberalism," listing the various expressions of liberalism inside the revolutionary contingent, revealing its essence and danger, and analyzing the root cause of its occurrence. This is a militant Marxist document. It inspired and guided the broad party members to carry on effective struggle against liberalism in the rectification campaign.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: Liberalism conflicts fundamentally with Marxism. It is negative and objectively has the effect of helping the enemy. ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 332) Marxism is, in essence, critical; it criticizes the old world, the bourgeoisie, and other bad things which are nonproletarian. On the other hand, liberalism eliminates ideological struggle and takes a laissez-faire attitude toward erroneous and ugly phenomena.

The elimination of ideological struggle means to give up the ideological fight of Marxism and to tolerate the attack of nonproletarian ideas against Marxism, permitting them to occupy the ideological field. The growth of liberalism will inevitably give rise to the spread of a decadent, Philistine attitude, "bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the party and the revolutionary organizations." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 330)

This problem is worthy of our watchful attention. Liberalism, in particular in politics, which regards the line, principles, and policies of the Central Committee of the party with an attitude of liberalism, is the gravest of dangers. Therefore, waging incessant struggles against trends of liberalism is an indispensable condition for building a unified and consolidated party.

Analyzing from an ideological-methodological view, the rise of liberalism inside the party is the failure to match one's deeds with one's words, "looking upon the principles of Marxism as abstract dogma," as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out. Regarding its social cause, it is the ideology of the petite bourgeoisie, and from a historical view, it takes root in bourgeois liberalism. Our party has been surrounded for a long time by a multitude of the bourgeoisie. During the period of the war of resistance against Japan, class cooperation was practiced in breadth within the united front, bourgeois and petite bourgeois ideas attacked the party from all directions, decaying its body. Under such circumstances, the struggle against liberalism inside the party possessed a particularly important significance.

## V

The fundamental method of the Yanan rectification was to practice criticism and self-criticism through checking up one's work and ideology on the basis of studying documents. In this sense, the Yanan rectification was a criticism and self-criticism campaign in breadth and depth inside the party. Whether it was possible to correctly unfold criticism and self-criticism was the key to success of the rectification.

Criticism and self-criticism is the chief method of solving contradictions within the party. There always exist the contradictions between the advanced and the backward, correctness and errors within the party. Some of them are the expressions of the contradictions between new and old things within the party, others are expressions of class contradictions within the party, and still others are contradictions in cognition. The party's progress is based on the incessant development and solving of these contradictions.

The party's vitality lies in the capability of adopting the method of self-criticism, continuously eliminating and overcoming its own shortcomings, mistakes, and backward things, and preserving and bringing forward its merits, advanced, and correct things.

If the weapon of self-criticism is done away with, the party will lose its vitality, deteriorate, and will even come to an end of its life. At a time when criticism fails to be carried on smoothly, when criticism and self-criticism have not yet formed an atmosphere within the party, the focus on the importance of criticism should be placed first and foremost.

Comrade Mao Zedong once demonstrated and emphasized criticism and self-criticism in line with Marxist methodology. He said: One of the basic methods of Marxism is analysis. Criticism is to implement the method of analysis. Work is a whole, criticism means to analyze our work, to point out its merits and shortcomings, to bring forward the good, and to get rid of the bad. To make an analysis of one's work and one's own history is to practice self-criticism, and to make an analysis of others is to practice criticism of others.

If one considers himself always in the right, makes no analysis of his own work, speaks only of his merits but does not touch upon his shortcomings and errors, it will be impossible for him to make progress in his work. Some comrades who have committed errors of subjectivism do not know the method of analysis. It is essential to take a modest attitude toward one's work, to understand that there is always room for improvement, and to constantly think of the fact that we have shortcomings and errors and that there is room for improvement in our work; only then is it possible for us to make progress. ("Mao Zedong's Speech at the Senior Cadres Conference of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Area")

Wang Ming, the self-proclaimed 100 percent Bolshevik, was a person who knew nothing of the method of analysis. He affirmed everything concerning himself, with not the least spirit of self-criticism, while toward others (those who did not agree with his erroneous opinions) he would negate everything, wage cruel struggles against them, and deal relentless blows at them.

There are two kinds of criticism: One conforms to the actual conditions and is conducted with the correct method; the other, does not. Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the experiences and lessons in the party's history while proposing a whole set of correct principles and methods of practicing criticism appearing in the rectification. "Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and cure the sickness to save the patient" is a general principle.

The principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient" has two meanings. First, mistakes must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities. It is necessary to analyze and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. Second, our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death. So long as the comrade who has made mistakes sincerely wishes to correct them, we should welcome him and cure his sickness so that he can become a good comrade. These two aspects are inseparable.

We must proceed from unity in criticism, and this is the premise. Nonetheless, it will be impossible to achieve unity without going through criticism and self-criticism, without clarifying what is right or wrong. This is the dialectic of unity and criticism. The formula of unity-criticism-unity is in opposition to the method of inner-party struggle of "cruel struggle and relentless attack" by "leftist" dogmatists, as summed up and generalized by Comrade Mao Zedong.

Of course, what we mean by proceeding from unity is proceeding from the unity of the whole party and from the interests of the people of the whole country, but not from the interests of a small group or a sector. This is an important principle.

We should adopt a good attitude in criticism and aim at helping those criticized. Toward our own comrades, we must adopt a comradely attitude. We should not go in for condemning our comrades in freezing irony and burning satire; we should never treat our comrades as we do the enemy. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Criticism should be strict and acute, but at the same time it should be sincere, frank, and aimed at helping those criticized. Only with this attitude will it be favorable in unity. Freezing irony and burning satire are another kind of corrosive agent, which is unfavorable to unity." ("Mao Zedong's Speech at the Yanan Forum on the Correcting of JIEFANG RIBAO," 31 March 1942)

Criticism should be truth-seeking. Criticism should be based on facts and should be practiced correctly by analyzing the root cause and environment leading to the mistake with a scientific attitude. Particularly in dealing with ideological problems, it is necessary to reason fully. The practice of oversimplification and being rough will not help solve problems, but will intensify the contradictions.

As the Yanan rectification had implemented correct but not distorted, serious but not superficial criticism and self-criticism, it finally "achieved the two-fold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 892) and the unprecedented unity of the whole party.

## VI

It is four decades since the Yanan rectification took place. In looking at this event 40 years afterward, more and more do we find its significance unfathomable.

Shortly after the rectification was universally unfolded, Comrade Mao Zedong expressed much determination, saying: It is necessary to thoroughly oppose subjectivism; it must be done well, and it is imperative for us to make such a determination. If the work is not done well, we will do it again; if a poor job is done the second time, we will do it a third time. To make it short, we will do the work thoroughly. If some people should oppose it, it is necessary for us to make explanations. If they are not convinced, we will make more explanations; we must make them completely convinced. To make it short, we must carry the work through to the end. We must rectify the three styles and let there be a thorough ideological change. (Speech by Mao Zedong concerning the rectification of the three styles, 21 April 1942)

As a result of years of concerted efforts by the whole party, the Yanan rectification achieved the purpose of changing the ideological condition of the whole party as Comrade Mao Zedong had expected. "Ensuring the unanimity of the party in ideology and politics and the purity of the composing elements of party organization." (Speech by Mao Zedong at the soiree marking the 22d anniversary of the founding of the CPC and the 6th anniversary of the war of resistance against Japan, 1 July 1943) Our party stood before the Chinese people with a brandnew feature.

The initiation and leadership of the Yanan rectification campaign was one of the great contributions of Comrade Mao Zedong in party building. On the basis of summing up the Yanan rectification, he set up a fine ideological style and work style for the CPC, formed a complete doctrine in party building, enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism in the theory of party building, and left us a precious spiritual wealth that should be passed down generation after generation. The Yanan rectification has educated several generations of Chinese communists, including the older generation of revolutionaries of our party. It is through them that the fine tradition formed in the Yanan rectification is passed down generation after generation, enabling our party to stand whatever test of hardship and danger.

The reasons for the tremendous success of the Yanan rectification were many, and the most important points are: First, the Central Committee of the party, with Comrade Mao Zedong as its representative, was united and unanimous, and they were unified in ideological cognition. Second, the party's line, principles, and policies since the Zunyi meeting had been proved to be correct by practice and understood by the broad party members. Third, the main trend of the party was good. Correct style and healthy strength had a dominant place inside the party, while unhealthy tendencies held a secondary place. Fourth, the Central Committee of the party formulated a whole set of correct principles, policies, measures, and methods in guiding the rectification campaign. Fifth, there had been long-standing preparations in ideology and theory.

Historical experiences have demonstrated that after our party corrected an erroneous guiding ideology that had dominated the whole party, reestablished the correct line, and realized a historic change, it was inevitable to unfold an all-round party rectification with unifying ideology and rectifying style as its main target.

This conforms to the law of historical phenomena. On the one hand, it is necessary to eliminate the remnants and efforts of erroneous ideas of the past; on the other, it is necessary to solve new problems emerging under the new historical condition so that the whole party may unite as one in leading the Chinese revolutionary cause to advance in big strides on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It was so with the Yanan rectification, and it is the same case with the party rectification we are carrying on today.

However, our conditions today are greatly different from those of the Yanan days. Our party has become the leading party of the political power of the whole country, and the contingent of the party has grown much larger. Having gone through the 10 years of turmoil of the "Cultural Revolution," the party's fine style has been greatly sabotaged. The impurity of organization is more serious than it was in the Yanan days. The party is in a more complicated historical environment than it was before. The corrosion of various nonproletarian ideas has grown more serious, ideas which have corrupted and are corrupting some communists.



At the same time, our party is facing the complicated and arduous task of modernization. Therefore, the concrete tasks of our current party rectification are different from those of the Yanan rectification; it possesses new characteristics and new contents. It will not only universally carry on education in Marxism-Leninism and rectify ideological style as it did in the Yanan rectification, but will focus on the weeding out [qing li 3237 3810] in organization, which will be regarded as an important target in the current party rectification. Even so, the basic experiences of the Yanan rectification are still of realistic significance today; we have the same essential conditions for success as the Yanan rectification. In addition, our party has accumulated many new experiences. Therefore, we are sure to say that the current party rectification will certainly achieve the same great victory as the Yanan rectification.

Back in 1945, Comrade Mao Zedong explained the significance of the Yanan rectification at the height of summing up the historical experiences of the party. He said: We did not win victory either in the northern expedition war or the agrarian revolutionary war. This was because, objectively, the strength of imperialism and the KMT was powerful and, subjectively, it was because we were not spiritually prepared, we were muddleheaded, and there were mistakes in our policies.

At present, regarding the objective conditions at home and abroad, there is the possibility of our winning victory. The question is that we should be spiritually prepared. The rectification in recent years is to make spiritual preparation for the victory, to prepare the CPC for the nationwide victory. (Mao Zedong's speech at the central party school, 25 February 1945) The Yanan rectification in the forties had spiritually prepared conditions for the nationwide victory of the new democratic revolution. Likewise, we can also say that the current party rectification of the eighties is spiritually preparing the conditions for the victory of the socialist modernizations.

In his speech made in April 1942, Comrade Mao Zedong had this to say on the historical role of the Yanan rectification: To overcome the present difficulties, to welcome a bright future, and to create a new world, we should make the same estimation of the party rectification we are carrying on today.

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THE TREMENDOUS DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC WORLD OUTLOOK IN CHINA--  
UNDERSTANDING GAINED FROM STUDYING MAO ZEDONG'S PHILOSOPHICAL THINKING

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[Article by Zhai Sishi]

[Text] Engels pointed out that an important strong point of the Communist Party is that it "takes a new scientific world outlook as its theoretical basis." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 118)

This new scientific world outlook is dialectical materialism and historical materialism founded by Marx and Engels. It correctly reflects the interests and viewpoints of the proletariat and points out the way for the proletariat to free themselves from enslavement. It is an ideological weapon for recognizing and transforming the world.

Without the guidance of this new scientific world outlook, the international communist movement could not have developed, over the past century or so, out of nothing and change from weak to strong, and become a great force in changing world history. On the other hand, this new scientific world outlook has also developed along with the development of the international communist movement and enriched its content. The philosophical thinking of Leninism was a development of this new scientific world outlook, and so is Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking.

Under the guidance of Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking, great achievements have been made not only in the Chinese revolution (including the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution), but also in socialist construction. Today, in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and building socialism with Chinese characteristics, Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking is still the theoretical basis for our guiding ideology. Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking is the core of Mao Zedong Thought.

The most fundamental thing to do in adhering to Mao Zedong Thought is to adhere to Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking. Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun and the CPC Central Committee have repeatedly emphasized the importance of studying Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking.



This is a call of strategic significance and the most basic ideological construction. It is an important and pressing task for the ideological and theoretical fronts to conscientiously study and publicize Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking in the all-round party rectification and in the struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution, and to carry out serious criticisms of the erroneous viewpoints of suspecting, depreciating, and negating Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking, so that Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking will always be in the guiding position bestowed by history in the whole course of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The most important experience achieved in the Chinese revolution is combining Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. This is the most fundamental principle of Mao Zedong Thought. As everyone knows, Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking has provided this "combination" with a scientific theoretical basis and correct methods. Comrade Mao Zedong had attached great importance to applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism in the investigation and study of the concrete conditions of the Chinese revolution since the very beginning when he was engaged in the cause of the Chinese revolution.

During the period of the agrarian revolution, he repeatedly emphasized that "without investigation, no one has the right to speak." He said that "the victory of the Chinese revolutionary struggle relies on how much the Chinese comrades understand the situation in China," and at the same time, actively advocated doing things independently in accordance with the spirit and essence of Marxism-Leninism and resolutely opposed book worship and dogmatism. (See also "Oppose Book Worship" and "On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism")

This is also the work style of "seeking truth from facts" which Comrade Mao Zedong often emphasized, that is, combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the realities in China. By adhering to this ideological line, Comrade Mao Zedong had not only solved the theoretical and tactical problems for the Chinese revolution, found the concrete revolutionary road of encircling the cities from the rural areas, and correctly guided the development of the Chinese revolution, but had also concretely enriched and developed dialectical materialism and historical materialism in many fields through summarizing, abstracting, distilling, and drawing philosophical conclusions, thus giving shape to Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking, which has the Chinese characteristics and suits the needs of the Chinese revolution. It becomes the stand, viewpoint, and method of the Chinese communists.

According to our study and understanding, the contents of Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking and its contributions to the Marxist-Leninist philosophy can be roughly summed up in the following points:

1. Comprehensively and systematically expounding the epistemology of dialectical materialism based on and characterized by social practice. Comrade Mao Zedong emphatically expounded the realistic attitude of proceeding in all cases from reality toward the objective world; emphasized

that the epistemology of dialectical materialism is the dynamic revolutionary theory of knowledge as the reflection of reality and that it is necessary to give full play to the conscious dynamic role based on and in conformity with the objective reality; profoundly expounded that social practice is the source of knowledge, the motive force for the development of knowledge, the purpose of knowledge, and the criterion for judging whether or not the knowledge is correct; pointed out that knowledge is a dialectical process from perceptual to rational knowledge and then to practice and that the formation of a correct knowledge will usually go through a course from material to spirit and then from spirit to material, that is, a course from practice to knowledge and then from knowledge to practice, and pointed out that truth stands in contrast to falsehood and develops in struggle with it.

2. Comprehensively and systematically developing the core of dialectical materialism--the law of the unity of opposites. Lenin pointed out: "In brief, dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites. This embodies the essence of dialectics, but it requires explanations and development." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 608) In accordance with the rich practical experiences of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong remarkably fulfilled this task, which was put forth by Lenin but was not fulfilled by him due to the limit of time. He pointed out that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe, that the relationship between the universality and particularly of contradictions (that is, the general and specific character of contradictions) is the essence of the question concerning the contradictions of things.

When we study something, we must not only study the universality of contradictions but must also study the particularity of contradictions so that contradictions of different nature can be solved in different ways. He pointed out that in studying the contradictions of all things, it is necessary to draw a clear distinction between the principal contradiction and secondary contradiction as well as between the principal aspect and the secondary aspect of a contradiction. It is also necessary to pay attention to the transformation of the contradictions under certain conditions in the above-mentioned unbalanced situation.

Dialectics is the most complete and profound doctrine on relations and development, which has no such defects as one-sidedness. Comrade Mao Zedong paid great attention to preventing dialectics from becoming a rigid formula and making it forever full of vitality.

3. Clearly setting forth and expounding the question of contradictions under socialism, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the basic contradiction in the socialist society is still the contradiction between the productive forces and production relations and that between the economic basis and superstructure. He pointed out that in the socialist society, there still exists two types of social contradictions: those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people, which are different in their nature. It is necessary to distinguish between and deal with these two types of social contradictions, and regard the handling of the

contradictions among the people as the main content in the political life of our country. Comrade Mao Zedong applied the law of the unity of opposites in the socialist society and thus opened up a new sphere for dialectics and made it more perfect.

4. Putting forth and expounding the mass line and applying the principle of historical materialism on the masses of people being the creators of history in the entire work and all activities of the party. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the Communist Party relies on the masses in all cases and does everything for the masses. All its policies and principles must be from the masses and to the masses. He regarded the masses of people as the main body of social practice and the main body of cognition, and thus unified the cognitional line with the party's mass line and scientifically expounded that truth and correct cognition are all crystallizations of collective wisdom. Maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands, and relying on our own efforts, which were emphasized by Comrade Mao Zedong, were also based on the mass line. When saying relying on our own efforts, the "efforts" also exist among the masses of people. It has always been our basic standpoint to rely mainly on the wisdom and forces of the masses of people in our country and carry out revolution and construction independently.

5. Making outstanding contributions to the scientific military dialectics. By applying the philosophical principles of Marxism-Leninism in the study of the law of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong scientifically summed up the experiences of the revolutionary war led by our party, pointed out that the people's war is a fundamental principle for the proletariat in military science, and worked out a complete strategy and tactics for the victory of the people's war. There are rich philosophical contents in the 10 military principles summed up by Comrade Mao Zedong, which profoundly brought to light the laws governing the revolutionary war in China. Comrade Mao Zedong's military works, especially the two articles, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" and "On Protracted War," are very good textbooks of Marxist philosophy. Every passage in these works radiates with the light of materialist epistemology and dialectics. They are brilliant examples of applying and developing materialist epistemology and dialectics in practice.

6. Always adhering to the unity of world outlook and methodology and the close combination of recognizing and transforming the world. Comrade Mao Zedong successfully applied the philosophical principles of Marxism-Leninism in formulating the line, policies, and principles for the proletarian political party. He put forth a complete ideological line and method of thinking and the line and methods for work. In this respect, Comrade Mao Zedong particularly emphasized that it is necessary to remold one's subjective world while changing the objective world--to remold one's ability of cognition and change the relations between the subjective world and the objective world.

Fighting for a long time in the center of revolutionary struggles, Comrade Mao Zedong always regarded solving the theoretical and tactical problems in

the revolutionary practice as a main target in his study of philosophy. This fully shows that Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking has the characteristics of Marxist philosophy in action.

7. A philosophy for the proletariat and the masses of people both in content and in form. Throughout his life, Comrade Mao Zedong worked very hard for the emancipation of philosophy. He emphasized the mass character of philosophy and called for freeing philosophy from the fetters of books and classrooms so that the masses can master philosophy and be governed by philosophy. He did his utmost and tried every means, such as using those examples and languages familiar to the masses, to vividly explain the profound philosophical principles in simple terms, so that the masses of people can easily understand them. This was also a great beginning in the history of Marxist philosophy.

Comrade Mao Zedong was a Marxist full of creativity. His philosophical thinking has been playing a great role of guidance in the Chinese revolution. The first thing we did to set to right things which had been thrown into disorder and to create a new situation after the smashing of the "gang of four" was also restoring and adhering to Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking. The discussion on practice being the only criterion of truth was an example of this. It is true that in the past, there was an inclination of giving an unrealistically high appraisal of Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking. This ran counter to the principle of seeking truth from facts and has been gradually corrected by our party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. However, in the course of correcting this inclination, some comrades have gone to the other side of one-sidedness and have suspected, depreciated, and negated Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking. This is wrong and harmful.

Some people hold that Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking is merely an application of the philosophical principles of Marxism-Leninism. It adds nothing new to the philosophical treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. This view shows that they do not understand the essence of scientific development and the real practice of Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking. Of course, Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking is the application of the philosophical principles of Marxism-Leninism.

However, how can we set development against application? The history of science teaches us that all sciences have been developed through application. If a science is not applied after it is founded, it cannot be developed. Of course, this does not mean that any application will naturally lead to development, but, undoubtedly, when a science is applied in a new field or to a new phenomenon and success is achieved, it will be enriched and developed because the new aspect of things is brought to light. Without application, there would be no development. Application and development form a dialectical unity. This conforms to the law of cognition. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the process of man's cognition is always from the general to the particular and back again, and in each process (if strictly following the scientific methods), man's cognition can be raised and deepened. Marxist philosophy is also developing in accordance with this law.

Lenin applied the principles of Marxist philosophy in analyzing the imperialist stage and guiding the victorious advance of the Russian revolution. In this way, he developed Marxist philosophy.

The Chinese communists headed by Comrade Mao Zedong successfully applied the philosophical principles of Marxism-Leninism in China, a large eastern country with the largest population in the world and the most complicated situation, and changed the appearance of this country as well as the world situation. How can we say that they have not developed and added new things to the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism?

There were often similar incidents in history. As we all know, Lenin was also regarded as a more revolutionary practitioner in those years, who made no contributions to Marxist philosophy. Stalin made a sharp criticism of this viewpoint. He pointed out: "Lenin's methods and principles were basically included in the doctrine of Marx. According to Marx, this doctrine is 'in essence, critical and revolutionary.' This critical and revolutionary spirit runs through Lenin's methods from beginning to end. However, we will be mistaken if we think that Lenin's methods were merely a restoration of Marx' methods. As a matter of fact, Lenin's methods were not a mere restoration of Marx' critical and revolutionary methods and a mere restoration of Marx' materialist dialectics, but were also concrete practice and further development of his methods." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 1, pp 198-199)

Obviously, we must also say so with regard to Comrade Mao Zedong. As was already mentioned, Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking, which has become the world outlook and methodology of the Chinese communists, has never deviated from, but has enriched and developed the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. This is an objective fact that cannot be negated or denied.

Of course, we must never repeat our past mistakes and interpret everything as a development by Comrade Mao Zedong, saying that Comrade Mao Zedong developed the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism in an all-round way and so forth. The formation and development of Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking bear a special characteristic, that is, the close combination with the practice of the Chinese revolution. The generalization and summation of the practical experiences of the Chinese revolution form the main aspect of its contribution to the development of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

In some fields, such as in the philosophy of natural sciences as we did not directly touch the problems in these fields with our revolutionary practice, or as the problems in these fields were not urgent problems for us at that time, they were rarely mentioned in Comrade Mao Zedong's works.

However, on military dialectics, we dare say that no other classics had ever made more expositions on the problems in this field than Comrade Mao Zedong. All this is a result of different historical conditions. Therefore, in dealing with the relations between Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking and Marxist-Leninist philosophy, we must not substitute the former for the latter or negate the former with the latter. In this respect, all one-sided viewpoints are wrong.

In fact, if we lose the banner of Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking, adhering to Marxist-Leninist philosophy in China will become mere empty talk. The reason that Marxist-Leninist philosophy has been displaying an incomparable power in China is that it is full of vigor, and suits the needs of the Chinese revolution. Moreover, it is combined with China's realities, takes a new form, and has been added with rich new content. This is a contribution made by Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking.

At present, some people have tried hard to separate Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking from the general system of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Does this not mean to make Marxist-Leninist philosophy withered and ossified? In appearance, this viewpoint has respect for Marxist-Leninist philosophy, but in fact, it does harm to the latter. It is not the scientific attitude that a Marxist should adopt.

Some people said that Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking has "neglected" man. As a result, man "is not in the position he should be in Marxist philosophy." This is a misunderstanding and distortion of Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking.

We should like to raise a question first: Is there a kind of philosophy, in modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere, which does not talk about man and does not involve man? The answer to this question is clear and definite: No, there absolutely is not. Materialism regards man as an object and a part of nature; all kinds of idealism hold that the world is created by man's consciousness or will; while religious philosophy advocates that man is created by deity (God, for example).

In modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere, there actually has never been a kind of philosophy which does not talk about man. Marxist philosophy is no exception. Why? Because the question concerning the relationship between thinking and existence and between spirit and material things is the fundamental question for philosophy. No philosophy can evade answering this question, either being aware and conscious of it or unaware and unconscious of it, and neither answering it directly nor indirectly. Of course, thinking and spirit here refer to man's thinking and spirit. Some people may refuse to recognize this fact, but facts are facts. In short, the essence of philosophy, which is a science on world outlook, determines that all kinds of philosophy cannot evade talking about man. Therefore, the crux of the question is not whether to talk about or not to talk about man, but rather how to talk about man. Let us have a look at Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking to see how it talks about man.

At the very beginning of the first paragraph of "On Practice," he pointed out: "Before Marx, materialism examined the problem of knowledge apart from the social nature of man and apart from his historical development, and was therefore incapable of understanding the dependence of knowledge on social practice, that is, the dependence of knowledge on production and class struggle." In the second paragraph he said: "In a classless society, every person, as a member of society, joins in common effort with the other members, enters into definite relations of production with them and engages



in production to meet man's material needs. In all class societies, the members of the different social classes also enter, in different ways, into definite relations of production and engage in production to meet their material needs. This is the primary source from which human knowledge develops." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, pp 259, 260) Here, Comrade Mao Zedong regarded man as man of society and man in history, holding that it is not correct to talk about man apart from his social nature and historical development. This is the basic viewpoint of Marxist philosophy on man. Only those people who deviate from Marxist philosophy and examine things with other criteria have failed to see this and said that Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking has "neglected" man and that man is thus "not in the position he should be in Marxist philosophy."

We must point out that those comrades who said that Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking has "neglected" man and made man "not in the position he should be" have exactly discarded and thrown away the basic viewpoint on man which Comrade Mao Zedong mentioned here, that is, the basic viewpoint of Marxist philosophy on man. They have talked about man in an abstract way, apart from the social nature of man and from his historical development. They hold that humanism, which takes the abstract theory of human nature as its basis, is the basic theoretical and key problem of Marxism, and criticize Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking as "having rarely touched upon" the theory of human nature and humanism. We must realize that man is the concrete being in history, likewise, the so-called human nature and humanism are also concrete things in history.

There are various kinds of humanism and theories of human nature in the world. Talking about human nature and humanism in an abstract way is a practice of the bourgeoisie and the people who have been influenced by bourgeois ideas. Marxism and bourgeois humanism are two diametrically opposite ideological systems. The former is historical materialism while the latter is historical idealism. It is true that in its course of deliberation and formulation, Marxism was once influenced by humanism, which is based on the abstract theory of human nature, but history tells us that it was only after "clearing away" that influence of abstract humanism that Marxism was shaped and founded.

Of course, Marxism also talks about humanism (we must point out that it does not talk about humanism in an abstract way), but humanism is never the core and basic theory of Marxism. This is also the case with regard to Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking. Comrade Mao Zedong never talked about human nature and humanism in an abstract way. At present, some comrades have repeatedly talked about the theory of abstract human nature and humanism and Marx' viewpoints in his early period, saying that it is necessary to "develop" Marxism with these viewpoints and that "restoring 'man's' position in Marxist philosophy" is a "pressing task and basic problem" in studying philosophy.

People would like to ask: Where will this "development" lead? Obviously, it will not lead to a new advance, but to a retrogression, a retrogression to the period prior to the founding of Marxism.

Some other people said that "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" were the ideological source of the "leftist" mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong committed in his later years. This viewpoint is also entirely wrong. Without a doubt, there was an ideological source of the "leftist" mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong committed in his later years and we must make a study and analysis of this source.

However, it is wrong to try to find this source from "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." As everyone knows, Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking emerged and developed in the struggles against both the "leftist" and rightist mistakes within our party, especially the "leftist" mistakes. Both "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," which are the most important representative works of Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking, take as their main purpose clearing away "leftist" dogmatism. They are all summations of experiences of the struggle to mainly oppose the "leftist" mistakes. The "leftist" mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years were by no means a consequence of "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." To the contrary, they were results of running counter to these two articles.

This was already summed up in a scientific way in the resolution adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

An important lesson we should draw from the "leftist" mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years is that if we do not proceed from China's concrete realities, we cannot offer correct guidance for the revolution, nor can we offer correct guidance for the socialist construction. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly emphasized the work style of "seeking truth from facts," because it is the foundation of the scientific world outlook of the proletariat and essence of Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking. We have to rely on it in our revolution and construction as well as in correcting various mistakes.

Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking, which is represented by "On Practice" and "On Contradiction," is not only a powerful weapon to conquer the enemy, but also a powerful weapon to conquer all kinds of erroneous ideas. Of course, this does not mean that we cannot discuss any of Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical arguments (including those in "On Practice" and "On Contradiction") and that "all his words are truth." However, viewing Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking as a whole and as a scientific system, it is a scientific world outlook and methodology which have been repeatedly proved by practice, and a guide for the revolution and construction. We must always adhere to Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking and, under the new historical conditions, develop it in light of our new practice. This theoretical position should never be encroached on and shaken.

Now, when we commemorate Comrade Mao Zedong's 90th birthday, our country has entered a new stage of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. In this stage, we will build socialism with Chinese characteristics and build our country into a modern socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy.



This is an unprecedentedly great and creative project. It will be faced with many new situations and new problems which Marxist classics did not meet with, and also many new situations and new problems we ourselves have never met with.

The duty of the Marxists and communists is to open up new paths and advance. Provided we strictly follow the only correct path of combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with China's realities, which was opened up by Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, no new situations and new problems which appear in our practice will put us into a difficult position. We will surely recognize and solve them.

Both our historical and practical experiences and both our positive and negative experiences have repeatedly proved that it is important for us to master the scientific world outlook, that is, to master Marxist-Leninist philosophy and Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking.

Mao Zedong Thought is the most precious spiritual wealth of the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout our country, and Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking is the "treasure of treasures." On our great journey, the radiance of Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking will always guide us in our march forward!

CSO: 4004/57

A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON THE HISTORICAL PATH OF CHINESE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES--  
UNDERSTANDING GAINED FROM STUDYING 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 83 pp 17-22

[Article by Yu Gang [0060 0474] and Yu Jianze [0151 7003 0463]]

[Text] The various democratic parties in China are an important component part of the patriotic united front under the leadership of the CPC and a component unit of the CPPCC. These democratic parties are: the KMT Revolutionary Committee, the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the China Association for Promoting Democracy, the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, the China Zhi Gong Dang, the Jiusan Society, and the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League. Most of them were established during the period of the war of resistance against Japan and the struggles against the reactionary rule of the KMT. They have a glorious history of long-term cooperation with the CPC and have made important contributions in the periods of democratic revolution and socialism. In his opening speech delivered at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "During the period of democratic revolution, the various democratic parties in our country fought side by side with our party and during the socialist period they advanced and went through trials together with our party. In future construction, our party will also carry out a long-term cooperation with all patriotic democratic parties and patriotic democratic personages." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 373) Such an important inference made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping on behalf of the CPC Central Committee is a correct assessment and scientific summarization of the historical path of the democratic parties and has manifested a firm guideline and sincere desire of our party for promoting a long-term cooperation with the democratic parties. It is of very important historical and practical significance.

During the period when the various democratic parties were founded in China, their main social foundation was composed of the national bourgeoisie, and the urban petty bourgeoisie and their intellectuals, as well as other patriotic and democratic elements. Instead of having contact with and representing a single class alone, the democratic parties are the integrated bodies of the people of these classes and strata on the common basis of opposing imperialism, developing patriotism, and striving for democracy.

They are political parties of class alliance. There are a certain number of revolutionary intellectuals and a small number of communists among their members and core leading members.

During the period when the various democratic parties were founded, their political programs were mainly aimed at opposing imperialism, developing patriotism, and fighting for democracy. These were basically identical with the minimum program of the CPC at the stage of new democratic revolution. Therefore, under the influence of the party's united front policy, the democratic parties have, since their founding, established cooperative relations with the CPC to varying degrees, and have gradually developed such relations in revolutionary struggle. During the period of the war of resistance against Japan, they cooperated with and worked side by side with the CPC to persist in the war of resistance against Japan, unity and progress, and to oppose the capitulation, splitting and retrogression of the KMT diehards. During the period of the old political consultative conference and peace talks between the KMT and CPC following the surrender of Japan, the democratic parties, as "third parties and groups," mainly worked together with the CPC to oppose the KMT policy of civil war and dictatorship, and to strive for peace and democracy. When the KMT reactionaries flagrantly tore up the resolution of the political consultative conference in defiance of the opposition of the people throughout the country and launched a civil war throughout the country, the various democratic parties sided with the CPC and issued a stern statement to refuse to recognize the "national assembly" held by the KMT reactionaries and the false constitution which it adopted. They took an active part in the democratic movements in the KMT-controlled areas. When one victory after another had been won in the people's liberation war and a strategic counterattack had been launched, the various democratic parties openly declared in early 1948 that they sided with the people's revolution and the CPC in order to carry out a joint struggle to overthrow the reactionary rule of the KMT and to found a new China. Afterward, they circulated telegrams and adopted resolutions to answer to the call issued by the CPC on convening the new political consultative conference and establishing a democratic coalition government. Leaders of these parties went to liberated areas in northeast and north China in succession at the invitation of the CPC. They proclaimed that they accepted the leadership of the CPC and participated in the preparation for convening the new political consultative conference. In September 1949, the various democratic parties and the CPC attended the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, enacted the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" which played the role of interim constitution, and elected the central people's government. They solemnly declared the glorious birth of the People's Republic of China. From then on, Chinese history has entered a new era and the various democratic parties have embarked on a new historical path.

Of course, the progress of the various democratic parties is never plain sailing. From the very beginning, the various democratic parties were not composed of a single class. "Their members often range all the way from oppositionists within the ruling classes to real progressives," "their political leanings vary all the way from constitutional monarchy to new

democracy." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 285) Therefore, in the process of advance, they had to fight against certain erroneous trends within themselves and gradually overcome them. During the period of the old political consultative conference and the KMT-CPC peace talks following the victory in the war of resistance against Japan, they had to exert their main efforts to overcome reactionary tendencies of leaning toward the KMT on the part of disappointed politicians of the feudal compradors, who joined the democratic parties when the war of resistance against Japan reached a high tide. They had to expel them from the democratic camp through struggle. During a certain period of time after the KMT launched a full-scale civil war in June 1946, they had to oppose the "middle road" and "third road" (actually an illusion of founding a bourgeois republic in China) advocated by certain representative figures of the bourgeoisie and upper petty bourgeoisie. Due to the restrictions of the internal and external factors, such advocacy did not play a leading role in the actual struggle of the democratic parties. In 1948, when the people's revolutionary war continually won victories and nationwide victory was at hand, they had to exert their main efforts to overcome erroneous tendencies of a handful of right-wing representative figures who intended to abandon revolution halfway and refused to carry the revolution forward through to the end. In the process of struggling against and overcoming these erroneous tendencies, the various democratic parties adhered to the correct political orientation of carrying out joint struggle with the CPC. They constantly made progress with the development of revolution.

After the founding of the PRC, our country turned the new democracy into socialism step by step and historical changes were also brought about in the various democratic parties. They held their central committee meetings separately in order to sum up their historical experience of the democratic revolution and to amend their constitutions. They decided to take the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" as their own political program. Afterward, they took the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and the "Constitution of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" as their political program and followed the political line of serving socialism. From then on, the various democratic parties in our country gradually turned the democratic road into the road of serving socialism.

Under the guidance of the united front guideline and policy of the CPC, and the CPC and the various democratic parties have carried out a long-term cooperation under the people's democratic dictatorship. Such cooperation between many parties in China is different from the situation in some socialist countries, where only one party is allowed. It is also different from the multiparty and two-party system in some European and American capitalist countries. "That multiparty system is determined by the situation whereby bourgeois political parties jostle with and compete with each other. None of them represents the interests of the broad masses of laboring people," "there are also many parties in our country. However, other parties in China serve the socialist cause under the prerequisite of recognizing the leadership of the CPC." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 231) The democratic parties take part in the work of state organs in our

country. They are the allies of and cooperate with our party. They are not parties not in office or opposition parties. They work together with the CPC and regard our country's constitution as a fundamental principle governing their activities. They are protected by the constitution and law. They may criticize and supervise each other in accordance with the stipulations of the constitution.

While carrying out joint struggle with the CPC, the various democratic parties are responsible for the cause of the party and people. They actively express their opinions and criticism. Thus they have become valuable friends of our party. This is absolutely necessary in order to persist in and improve the party leadership. "The thing that a revolutionary political party fears most is that it is not able to hear the people's voice. The most fearful thing is that not even a crow or sparrow can be heard." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 134) At present, when the CPC is carrying out an all-round party rectification, it has sincerely asked the democratic parties to help it in the drive. The various democratic parties and patriotic personages are also firmly determined to adopt an attitude of "sharing weal and woe" to help the party do well in party rectification. Such friendly and long-term cooperation between the CPC and the democratic parties is very beneficial to the efforts of leading people throughout the country to realize the great cause of socialist modernization.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, the various democratic parties have taken an active part in the great struggles of opposing imperialism, promoting patriotism, and striving for peaceful reunification of the motherland. They have participated in the consultation and decisionmaking on important problems concerning the political life of the state, the construction cause, and the united front and have a hand in the administration of the state affairs. They have encouraged their members and people of the relevant classes and strata connected with them to take part in various democratic reforms and the practice of promoting socialist transformation and serving socialist construction. They have represented the legitimate interests of their members and assisted the CPC and government to propagate their policies, coordinated their relations, and carried out mutual supervision between them and the CPC on a common political basis. They have helped their members study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and carry out self-education and self-transformation. All this work done by the various democratic parties has played an important role in developing the patriotic united front, strengthening the unity of the people throughout the country, promoting people's democracy, and arousing the enthusiasm of all elements to serve socialism.

After the founding of new China, the various democratic parties followed a zigzag road of advance. They went through two barriers and three trials. They went through the first barrier during the agrarian reform shortly after the liberation. They had to cut off certain relations they had with feudalism and draw a line of demarcation between democratism and feudalism. They went through the second barrier during the period of socialist transformation following the completion of agrarian reforms. They had to cut

off their relations with the capitalist ownership system and draw a line of demarcation between socialism and capitalism. Thanks to the leadership and help of the CPC, they went through these two barriers smoothly. In the struggle of socialist transformation aimed at eliminating the feudal exploiting system and realizing the public ownership system of the means of production, they steeled and reformed themselves and made progress. They made active contributions to reducing resistance and giving an impetus to thorough completion of the new democratic revolution and smooth accomplishment of the task of socialist transformation.

After the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership system of the means of production in 1956, the various democratic parties marched shoulder to shoulder with the CPC. In this process, they experienced three important trials. The first trial resulted from the severe enlargement of the antirightist struggle in 1957. It was necessary to carry out the struggle. However, due to overestimation of the seriousness of the situation, the struggle was severely enlarged. In this struggle, the democratic parties were assaulted. Some of their leading persons and members were erroneously labeled as rightists. Many comrades and friends were harmed. However, the long-term cooperative relations formed in common struggle ensured that the various democratic parties would persist in marching together with our party after the antirightist struggle.

The second trial was experienced during the temporarily difficult period of the national economy from 1959 to 1961. Under the leadership of the CPC, the various democratic parties adopted the method of "meetings of immortals" to carry out a lot of ideological and political work for their members and other people who were connected with them. They exerted valuable efforts to maintain the stable situation in the whole country and to overcome temporary difficulties more rapidly.

The third trial was the most serious. During the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the various democratic parties and CPC were brutally persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. However, once the party had corrected its own mistakes and brought order out of chaos, the various democratic parties still persisted in taking the socialist road under the leadership of the party. It is commendable for them to do so.

Due to the limitations of their former social foundation, on their road of advance of serving socialism, the various democratic parties could not avoid inconsistency and struggle. This is a process of continuous study, practice, and steeling and reforming themselves and a process of constantly overcoming feudal and bourgeois ideology inherited from the old society. It was a common phenomenon that democratic parties encountered inconsistency and struggle on their road of advance. They will probably do so in the future. Their valuable experience lies in the fact that they have continued to trust the party leadership and socialist road and that they have accepted the help of the CPC and the broad masses of people. Taking the interests of the whole into account they actively carry out self-education



and self-reform in light of their ideological reality and work. They carry forward what is right and correct what is wrong. They withstand trials and march together with the CPC.

At present, our country has entered a new historical period. Socialist modernization is our key task. Fundamental changes have taken place in the class situation at home. The exploiting class as a class has been eliminated in the mainland. Historical changes have also taken place in the democratic parties. "They have become a political alliance of various people and people connected with them, including some socialist laborers and some patriots who support socialism. They are a political force which serves socialism under the leadership of the CPC." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 172) Upholding the four basic principles has become a common political foundation of unity between the CPC and the various democratic parties. In this way, the democratic parties in China have entered a new historical period of serving socialist modernization. Of course, class struggle will exist within a certain scope in our society for a long time. This will also be reflected within the ranks of the people. The various democratic parties should continue to strengthen ideological and political work to help their members make progress continuously.

To carry out socialist modernization programs, we need scientific and cultural knowledge. We should respect and rely on intellectuals just as we respect and rely on workers and peasants. Among members of the various democratic parties and people connected with them, there are a great number of intellectuals. They have a higher cultural, scientific, and technological level and a wealth of experience. Many of them are scholars and experts who have specialized knowledge and authorities on administration and management. They are an indispensable force in the socialist modernization programs. A host of facts have proved that the democratic parties are not dispensable in the new period. They are absolutely needed. They are shouldering a heavy task rather than a lighter one. They are playing a great role, rather than a smaller one.

With a great number of false charges, wrong sentences, and frame-ups having been redressed and various policies having been gradually implemented following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the democratic parties have greatly enhanced their sense of responsibility and aroused their enthusiasm for the political life of the state and for the socialist modernization programs. They have actively participated in the consultations and discussions for formulating guidelines and plans for the construction of the state and the drafting of laws and decrees. They have put forth proposals and criticisms. They have conducted systematic investigation and study to explore certain important problems occurring in economic and cultural construction. They have put forth opinions and plans to the CPC Central Committee and the State Council for improvement. They do their utmost to help their members do their work well. They organize and encourage their members to cater to the needs of society. They carry out various kinds of consultative services and promote various kinds of spare-time education and lectures. They send specialized teams to the border regions to support them with knowledge. All this has opened up new fields

for serving the modernization programs. The democratic parties have also made new efforts and new contributions to actively propagating and implementing the guiding principles and policies of the CPC and government on the reunification of the motherland, to strengthening their contacts and unity with Hong Kong and Macao compatriots and Chinese residents residing abroad, to establishing ties with people of various circles in Taiwan, to promoting the great unification cause of the motherland, and to strengthening the friendly intercourse and cooperation between the Chinese people and people of various countries. All this marks a new development in the work of the democratic parties, which is in accord with the needs of the socialist modernization programs and the law of development.

The 12th CPC National Congress has pointed out that we should "continue to implement the policy of 'long-term coexistence and mutual supervision,' and 'treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe' in order to strengthen our cooperation with the various democratic parties, nonparty democratic personages, personages of minority nationalities, and patriotic personages in the religious field." Under the guidance of policy, multi-party cooperation in our country under the leadership of the CPC will be further strengthened and display its greater superiority. Various democratic parties will increasingly play a marked and active role in completing the general task of the new period, in accomplishing the great cause of the reunification of the motherland, and in safeguarding world peace.

The practice of long-term struggle of the democratic parties in China over the past half century has shown that the path taken by them since their founding in the 1940's has been a correct path of cooperating with the CPC and accepting its leadership. It is also a glorious path continuously developing from patriotism into serving socialism. It is not accidental that the democratic parties have taken such a path. It is determined by specific historical conditions in China. All this has reflected the peculiarities of the historical development of Chinese society. The historical experiences of the democratic parties in China have greatly and beneficially enlightened people.

1. Old China was a semicolonial and semifeudal society in which the contradiction between the Chinese nation and imperialism on the one hand, and the contradiction between the masses and feudalism on the other were the main contradictions. Of various kinds of contradictions, the contradiction between the Chinese nation and imperialism was the most acute. The task of the revolution was to oppose imperialism and feudalism. The nature of the revolution was that of a bourgeois democratic revolution. The national bourgeoisie, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and their intellectuals, who formed the social foundation of the democratic parties, had generally an ardent love for their country and a strong desire to oppose imperialism and feudalism because they were oppressed and exploited by imperialism, feudalism, and the bureaucrat-comprador force. However, due to their own weak points, the weakness of the bourgeois and the petit bourgeois aversion to discipline in particular, as well as the restrictions of historical conditions in old China, they were unable to become an independent and powerful



political force. To free themselves from the oppression of imperialism and the yoke of feudalism, they had to seek the support of and cooperate with the revolutionary classes of workers and peasants. The CPC shouldered the historical task of leading the Chinese revolution. When the Chinese revolution developed into a new democratic revolution, the above-mentioned classes and strata were sandwiched in the fierce struggle between the revolutionary classes of workers and peasants, headed by the CPC, and the big landlord and bourgeois classes, headed by the KMT. They were unable to develop independently. "They could choose to lean either toward the CPC or toward the KMT--there was no other road." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," p 284) In certain historical periods and under certain historical conditions, the various democratic parties could become middle-of-the-roaders and middle-of-the-road forces. Even under those conditions, they were not able to follow a "middle road" or a "third road" independently. The position of the above-mentioned classes and strata determined that right from their birth, the democratic parties appeared on the Chinese political stage as allies of and cooperators with the CPC rather than its antithesis. They linked their fate with that of the proletariat and the CPC. With regard to the proletariat and the CPC, it was necessary for them to win them over and unite with them, because the proletariat "cannot win victory by its own strength alone. In order to win, it must unite, according to varying circumstances, with all classes and strata that can take part in the revolution, and must organize a revolutionary united front." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 325) The fact that during the period of democratic revolution, the various democratic parties in China could carry out joint struggle with the CPC was a requirement of the times and an inevitable outcome of the historical development in China. During the period of socialist transformation, although there was conflict between the democratic parties and socialism and the conflict could be acute enough with regard to certain problems, they could continue to cooperate with the party and gradually embark on the path of serving socialism because of their long history of common struggle with the party, their position of participating in the people's democratic dictatorship as the allies of the party, and their patriotic ideological foundation under the prerequisite of establishing political power based on a worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat and enacting the leading role of socialist economy.

2. On the basis of China's historical conditions and characteristics, the CPC has always regarded the democratic parties as its allies, striven to win their support, allied with them to fight the common enemies and to build the motherland, correctly adhered to the principle of both promoting unity and carrying out struggle, and guided them to advance step by step.

After the founding of the new China, the CPC persisted in applying the policy of a united front to the democratic parties, helped them unite, advance, and develop, and sincerely cooperated with them in political life and construction. It comprehensively recruited the intellectuals affiliated to them for various economic and cultural constructions, and gave them jobs, powers, and responsibilities so that they could give full play to their talent and wisdom. In addition, the CPC also helped them become advanced. As for the people who were originally members of the KMT military or

government personnel or who were affiliated to them in one way or another, the CPC adopted the policy of taking care of everything concerning them, assigned jobs to them according to their abilities, but did not discriminate against them. In addition, it also helped them transform themselves. As for the industrial and commercial enterprises run by the national bourgeoisie affiliated to them, the CPC applied the policy of utilizing, limiting, and transforming. In the question of eliminating classes, the CPC did not treat them in the way it treated the bureaucrat-capitalist class, that is, it neither exercised dictatorship nor adopted a policy of exploitation but, by democratic means and a buying-out policy and through various forms of national capitalism, gradually carried out peaceful transformation, strove to turn the people of this class into laborers who supported themselves by their own labor, and made them take the socialist road without too much reluctance. After the basic completion of the construction of the socialist system in 1956, the CPC Central Committee promptly summarized its experience in cooperating with the democratic parties and put forward the basic principle of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" which was further developed into the principle of "'long-term coexistence and mutual supervision' and 'utter devotion to each other and sharing honor and disgrace together'" in the new historical period. All this is the result of the democratic parties' standing together with our party through thick and thin, their advancing side by side with our party, and their having stood a long-term test. There have been radical changes in their character. They have become a political force which serves socialism and the relationship between the Communist Party and the democratic parties has become one of "utter devotion to each other and sharing honor and disgrace together." By putting forward this principle, our party has deepened and further developed the theory and policy of the united front. This principle has very great significance for the democratic parties in their continuing to cooperate and advance with our party in the socialist period.

3. As dictated by China's historical conditions and characteristics, its democratic parties have always had the character of a coalition of classes. In the course of their development, an advanced force, which is capable of ensuring that they advance steadily and which has gradually taken up the central position, has been gradually formed. As a result of their continuing to advance and their correctly playing the role of a mainstay, they have gradually brought about the unity of the majority within them. In addition, they also propel this majority to become more and more advanced. In this way, they can effectively resist and check the erroneous political tendencies of the few right-wingers inside themselves and adhere to the correct orientation of the democratic parties. After the founding of the new China, the democratic parties gradually took the road of serving socialism. This was inseparable from the leading role played by their leadership and core members. Historical experience has proved that the existence and expansion of an advanced force is the important condition for the democratic parties' maintaining and developing their cooperation with the Communist Party and for their continuing to advance. In addition, the advanced force must strive to unite with the majority inside the democratic parties and not depart from the masses under any circumstances before it can be a mainstay.

By now, in mainland China, the exploiting class as a class has been eliminated and there have been radical changes in the social basis of the democratic parties. However, because of the influence of historical relations and actual conditions, the democratic parties still manage to preserve their character of a political coalition. There are still comprehensive ties between them and various sectors of society. Their organizations are composed of socialist laborers or intellectuals of the working class, who constitute the majority. In addition, their members include a certain number of patriots who support socialism and even some patriots who subscribe to the unification of the motherland. This is favorable to fully promoting the role played by them in state political life and the united front.

4. Most members of the democratic parties have for a long time shared common political and ideological ground, characterized by patriotism. This common ground enables them to be united. To be sure, patriotism is different from socialism in that in different historical periods, patriotism has different contents. We cannot force all patriots to become socialists. As long as they are patriots, they can make their contributions to the motherland and we should unite with them. However, under China's present specific historical conditions, patriotism and socialism are interlinked. The outcome of the adherence to and the development of patriotism is always an advance toward socialism. The reason is simple. It is because that is the only road in China. Modern Chinese history has proved that only socialism can save China and that only under the leadership of the CPC can we score victories in China's revolutions and build socialism in China. Thus, firm patriots will necessarily cooperate with the Communist Party and take the socialist road. In China, this is a universal truth. Why could the democratic parties fight side by side with the Communist Party in the democratic revolution? As far as they themselves are concerned, the basic factor is that they were patriots. Many people had put forward and put into practice the ideas of "saving the country through education," "saving the country through science," and "saving the country through industry." However, although at that time they could arouse the patriotic enthusiasm of the people to a certain extent, from a fundamental point of view, they failed. Only by cooperating with the Communist Party in taking a revolutionary road could they score victories in overthrowing the reactionary KMT rule and in building a new China. Why are the democratic parties in the socialist period able to take the road of serving socialism and to advance with the Communist Party? Patriotism is again one of the important factors. Their patriotic thinking continues to develop and deepen under the new historical conditions. The new China's rapid economic, cultural, educational, and scientific development under the socialist system and the unprecedentedly high international status it enjoys have aroused their sense of national pride and enabled them to be aware of the superiority of the socialist system and the need to take the socialist road. Thus, they link their destiny with the socialist future of the motherland. This shows that the course of the democratic parties' proceeding from patriotism to the socialist road is in keeping with the law of the development of history.

In the future, under the leadership of the CPC, the democratic parties will continue to advance along the correct road of building socialism, adhere to the socialist orientation, persist in serving socialism, play an active part in the four modernizations, continue to give full play to the characteristics and strong points of a political coalition, comprehensively unite with patriots from various quarters, steadily strengthen the patriotic united front, persistently strengthen ideological and political work, and help their members advance. In the struggle to build China into a modernized socialist power with a high level of democracy and civilization and in the causes of unifying the motherland and of upholding world peace, the various democratic parties will certainly make new contributions and advance with the CPC toward a glorious future.

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## ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO AND STEP UP THE DEVELOPMENT OF GRASSLANDS

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[Article by Zhao Haifeng [6392 3189 1498]]

[Text] Qinghai Province is vast and 96 percent of it is pastureland, with over 500 million mu of usable grasslands. Half of the province's agricultural income comes from stock breeding. It represents one of the country's five biggest pasturelands. Stock breeding is one of the great characteristics of the province, and not only does it provide the people with such food products as lean meat and milk products, it also provides light industry with an abundance of raw materials and also plays an important role in enriching the economy of the national minority regions and improving ethnic unity. When Comrade Hu Yaobang made an inspection tour of the province, he said: "You must, without fail, concentrate on stock breeding. We must continue to implement policies to develop stock breeding and animal husbandry, the grasslands and stockbreeding contract system must be implemented more widely, and on this basis exemplary models should be used along with convincing methods of teaching and propagating science and technology and providing various kinds of scientific and technological services, in order to teach stock breeding peasants how to work on their own and gradually improve the grasslands and implement artificial cultivation of grasslands." Comrade Hu Yaobang's words are of guiding importance in speeding up the development of stock breeding and promoting construction in pasturelands and in economic construction. We are determined to implement the party's policies and mobilize the people on a massive scale and ensure that grassland construction becomes a strategic task so that Qinghai's pasturelands may be developed as quickly as possible into a prosperous and developed stock breeding base, making great contributions for the construction of the four modernizations.

### I

Stock breeding in Qinghai mainly falls into the category of grassland stock breeding, and grassland stock breeding involves both grass growing and stock breeding itself, in other words two natural reproduction processes. Both are independent yet mutually linked and mutually restrictive. They represent two important links in the ecological chain of the grasslands. Pastureland is the most important material basis for the existence of

stock breeding and the scale of stock breeding and the speed of its development are both directly determined by the quality and quantity of pasture available. On the other hand, suitability between the quantity and variety of stock breeding and the quantity and type of pastureland available can also influence pasture production in a direct way since if there is too little stock breeding and excess pasture, then this will lead to a waste of natural resources and a drop in economic results. If there is too much stock breeding then the available pasture will be overstretched and this will lead to a shrinkage in pastureland, followed by a drop in pasture production and quality of pasture. If we want to develop grassland stock breeding and achieve more and better livestock products then we must research the natural and economic laws of pasture production and livestock production. On the one hand, efforts should be made to improve the quality and quantity of grassland, and on the other hand, improvements should be made to livestock management and there should be planned use of fast-breeding methods and seasonal stock breeding so as to achieve large amounts of stock which require relatively little pasture consumption. This is an important relationship which we must come to grips with in our guidance of stock breeding.

Qinghai's pasturelands are located in the Qinghai-Xizang plateau where it is cold and there is a lack of oxygen. The pasturelands have a short growing season and pasture production is low, and of the 500 million mu of available grasslands one-third are very poor quality pasturelands because of water shortages and pest damage, which makes them extremely inefficient. Under such poor natural conditions, management and administration should be run in strict accordance with objective laws and great attention should be paid to protecting and making rational use of the natural grasslands. However, for many years now the restrictions of traditional views and the influence of "leftist" errors have meant that we have lacked sufficient research into pasture production and stock breeding and the relationship between the two. There has been a universal tendency to concentrate on stock breeding and ignore pasture production. Some comrades mistakenly believe that pasture stock breeding is not the same as agricultural production and that output and production can be increased without increasing material investments. There has been a one-sided striving for greater numbers of livestock and management of the pasturelands has been mere plundering with the only emphasis on the use of the pasture and what can be extracted from it, while no emphasis has been put on protection and construction. In addition, there has been consistent "eating from the big rice bowl" as far as management of the pasturelands is concerned and no strict responsibility system has been set up, with the result that there have been serious outbreaks of stock rustling and overbreeding, while the man-made serious erosion of the grasslands has intensified the imbalance between the animals and the grasslands. According to estimates, grass production today in the existing grasslands has dropped one-third from the level it was during the 1950's, while, if all stock is counted as sheep, then the grasslands available for every sheep has shrunk from 32 mu in the 1950's to 12 mu today and, during the 6 or 7 months of winter and spring when there is a lack of grass, most of the stock suffer and they either starve or freeze to death because of low resistance due to poor physical



strength. Since the 1970's there has been a clear downward trend in stock breeding and every 5 years there is a production drop for 3 of those years and only a production balance or a slight increase for 2 of the 5 years. In recent years, stock figures have fluctuated around 20 million and the terrible cycle known as "autumn fat, winter thin, spring death" has still not been resolved. During the last 12 years 14.08 million head of stock have died and, when compared to the sale of stock during the same period, this represents 763 million yuan. At the same time, stocks have been severely diminished and the average weight of 1 lamb has dropped from 40 jin during the 1950's to 32 jin today.

The 30 years of practical experience have made us understand that it is not enough to simply tackle stock breeding if one wants to develop pastureland stock breeding, it is also necessary to solve the problem of the pasturelands themselves, for if this is not done, once stock figures have risen, they may simply drop again. Making a decision on the basis of rational utilization of the pasturelands is not sufficient either, because there is only a limited quantity of natural pasturelands, and even if there is full utilization in a rational way, there is always a limit. The most basic way is to ensure rational utilization of the natural pasturelands and, at the same time, to integrate the use of biological measures and engineering measures, taking the biological measures as central, and launch water conservancy construction in a big way in the pasturelands, thereby gradually changing the production conditions, while at the same time implementing scientific breeding methods and intensive management and administration. Only in this way can stock breeding become stable and can reliable material foundations be laid down for fast development so that increasingly good economic results may be achieved.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and as a result of discussions concerning the question of true and valid standards, we have studiously assessed the experiences and lessons of the past, corrected our guiding ideology, and placed pastureland construction in a very important position. The provincial party committee and the provincial government have launched a comprehensive investigation into pastureland resources and developed regional plans. They have implemented a series of measures, coming to grips with pastureland construction, readjusting the relationship between livestock and the pasturelands and, with the enormous support of the state, they have begun a pilot project in Haiyan County which involves the modernization of stock breeding by focusing on pastureland construction. As a result of all-round great efforts, this pilot scheme has already proved successful. Take for example the Dongtan brigade of the Huangcheng commune in Menyuan Min Nationality Autonomous County. There they have around 70,000 mu of usable pastureland and they began with around 10,000 head of various stock, thus for every sheep there was about 3.8 mu of pastureland. This meant that there was a great deal of stock but little pastureland, reflecting a serious contradiction. In recent years they have expanded the receding pasturelands with an additional 5,000 mu of planted grass and 900 mu of fodder crop, thus producing around 13,000 mu of enclosed grasslands, providing each animal with more than 1 mu of land. This meant that the newly grown grass was not only sufficient to

replenish the winter and spring grass shortages, there was also some left over. Stock breeding changed here from being roving pasture breeding to semipermanent breeding. There were enormous increases in economic results and the livestock growth rate increased from 19.2 percent in 1977 to 35 percent in 1981, while product increases grew from 7 percent in 1977 to 21.2 percent in 1981. Average per capita distributed income reached 419 yuan, thus making the brigade one of the richest in the county.

## II

The Qinghai stock breeding pasturelands are between 3,000 and 5,000 meters above sea level, with complex geography and cold weather and a selection of hardy pastures and grasses. The grasslands are located in the mountains and on the vast plains, while others are to be found in the rather wet river valleys, or the dry deserts and semideserts. The various national minorities who breed stock have over the centuries developed different types of management and different customs. The various management methods and specific natural characteristics of the areas together determined that in planning pasture construction it was vital that we suit measures to local conditions and strive for efficiency and not simply do everything with "one cut of the knife." By assessing the experiences of the last few years we believe that pastureland construction must be carried out while upholding the following few points:

First, natural pasturelands must be protected and used well. Natural pasturelands are characterized by being vast in size, adaptable, and requiring little investment but producing high output. Of course, they are the most important and irreplaceable means of production for developing pastureland stock breeding. At present the level of the productive forces in stock breeding areas is very low and the means of production are still very backward. There are certain limits to the scale and speed of man-made pastureland construction which fall far short of being able to satisfy the requirements for stock breeding development. In order to develop stock breeding the most important thing is still our dependence on natural pasturelands. Even in the future, when conditions are better and the means of production have been modernized, mankind will still not be able to change the vast areas of pasturelands into man-made pasturelands and will still have to depend mainly on the use of natural pasturelands. The protection and rational use of natural pasturelands is not merely a measure of expediency, but is a long-term plan which can never be ignored. Practice in many regions has proved that simply by implementing effective measures such as closing off the plains and mountains to stock grazing so as to facilitate grass growing, implementing rotation grazing, loosening hardened pasturelands, eradicating pests, and so on, after 3 to 5 years of such measures there will be a fundamental regrowth of the pasturelands and the utilization rate of the pasturelands will rise by 25 percent. Such measures do not require a great deal of money nor a great deal of work for each production team. The key to success is attention from the leadership and efficiency of the measures. In addition, there should be a unified organization to ensure that both cadres and the masses understand the principles involved and thus establish strict systems of pastureland

management, utilization, and construction with responsibility attributed to each household. If each stock breeding area can successfully achieve pastureland protection and rational utilization and rationally extend the summer grazing period and shorten the winter and spring shortages of pastures, then the stock capacity of existing pasturelands could rise by between one-fifth or one-fourth. There is tremendous potential here and our present efforts should be concentrated on these measures.

Second, we should actively promote seasonal stock breeding. While pastureland stock breeding benefits from nature, it is also restricted by nature. Measures must suit local conditions and seasons. The summer is the "golden season" on the pasturelands and the grass is fresh and rich and stocks grow very quickly. During winter, however, it is very cold, the grass withers and turns yellow and loses a lot of its richness and goodness. There is a large imbalance in grass and stock production during these two seasons. If we could rationally make use of the warm summer climate and rich abundance of pastures by breeding and feeding more livestock during this season, breeding more wethers and additional stock to replace winter deaths and then, before winter, slaughtering and selling some stock so that during winter and spring there is less livestock to feed, then we would be killing two birds with one stone in that we would be ensuring that the summer pasturelands produce as much produce as possible and thus increasing income, while at the same time reducing the number of livestock during the winter and avoiding large numbers of stock deaths. Beginning in 1980, the Ebao brigade in Qilian County implemented seasonal stock breeding and speeded up turnover of stock, thereby improving productivity and basically solving the problem of pasture shortages during the winter and spring and increasing economic results enormously. A comparison between 1982 and 1979 illustrates that stock deaths of fully grown animals dropped from 9.1 percent to 3 percent while total stock increase rates grew from 16.2 percent to 35.5 percent. In addition, productivity grew from 8.2 percent to 24.5 percent and total stock breeding income rose from 487,000 yuan to 1.04 million yuan. Average per capita distributed income rose from 198 yuan to 467 yuan. Total income and per capita distributed income both doubled within 3 years. Their experiences provide us with tremendous lessons and information about the rational use of natural grasslands. At present their methods are now being implemented throughout the stock breeding areas of the province and initial good results can already be seen.

Third, the construction of fenced grasslands must aim at the small-scale rather than the large. The construction of fenced grasslands is a very good way of constructing pasturelands. However, in the past, the influence of "leftist" ideologies meant that it was only implemented without discussion of actual results. Fenced grasslands were constructed on top of mountains and enclosed in these grasslands were hundreds and perhaps thousands of mu of land which were not developed as pasturelands. The result was an enormous waste of money and manpower and there was in fact no difference between the natural pasturelands and the fenced pasturelands and there was an enormous loss of grass and plant life reaped in the construction of the enclosure walls of the pasturelands. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, some comrades voiced their

opposition to fencing pasturelands and demanded that it be stopped. After extensive research and examination and an assessment of the experiences of all regions we felt that the principle of enclosure was basically good and that there should not be total censure of the principle, but that it was necessary to examine it in the light of reality and concentrate on small enclosures of pastureland. On the basis of unified ideological understanding, we are mobilizing the masses to change the previously enormous fenced pasturelands into a series of small enclosures while ensuring that water and pasture construction within these enclosures is tackled well. At the same time, during winter and spring the grasslands should also be enclosed as pastures for livestock. This small-scale pasture enclosure system is both practical and can be carried out by households separately or together and it can be integrated with the construction of herdsmen settlements and has been warmly welcomed by the masses. At present, over 9 million mu of grasslands are enclosed as pasturelands throughout the province; it is playing an important role in avoiding disasters and saving the stock.

Fourth, develop planting by man and organize water conservancy and irrigation. Improving protection and rational utilization of natural pasturelands is an important part of grassland construction, but this alone is not sufficient and in the long run the most fundamental method of increasing grassland production capacity is to implement planting and irrigation by man of the grasslands, thereby improving production conditions. Only the construction of stable fodder bases and the implementation of sufficient measures to prevent cold weather stock breeding and ensure good warm weather breeding will solve the problems of drinking water for humans and animals during the cold seasons and irrigation in the plains, and only then will traditional roving stock methods change to permanent one-site stock breeding methods. This will form the solid basis for the modernization of stock breeding. We must make grass planting and irrigation one of the most important aspects of stock breeding production, and tackle it as a strategic task for a long and continuous period of time. At present, limitations on manpower, financial resources, and the level of science and technology mean that grassland construction cannot be undertaken on a massive scale and we must not be overanxious for quick results, rather we should uphold the principles of tackling the simple things before the more complex, and do things in accordance with our abilities. We should try to save in our investments and achieve good results as quickly as possible, constructing first one area and then another and gradually build up construction. First, we should accumulate material resources and financial resources and perfect those winter and spring grasslands and already enclosed pasturelands in areas with water resources, good weather conditions, and flat terrain, planting various kinds of grass and fodder, expanding the cultivation of turnips and other juice-rich fodder, and constructing stable grass and fodder bases so that there is sufficient fodder and grass for livestock during the winter. At the same time we should actively promote the drying of grass, storage of grass in pits, the processing of grain and so on, so as to increase the quantities of extra fodder available. If we can store between 30 and 50 jin of grass fodder every year for every head of livestock, then throughout the province we can

prevent the deaths of 1 million head of adult livestock every year and see an extra 600,000 to 700,000 calves every year. In addition, Qinghai has around 40 million mu of dry grasslands which lack water and which, as a result, cannot be used because of the lack of drinking water for man and animals. With a little extra construction and the sinking of a few wells and the construction of a few small-scale irrigation works, solving the drinking water problem, these wasted grasslands can be changed into useful pasturelands. As far as this work is concerned, every region has its own models, for example the Batan region of Tongde County once lacked water irrigation. After planting by man of around 10,000 mu of land, grass output per mu rose from 600 jin to 1,000 jin, four times more than natural grassland output. Over the last 2 years a pilot scheme has been carried out in the same county involving the use of airplanes to distribute grass seeds over wide stretches of land and the results have been very good. As long as good terrain is selected and every opportunity is taken and production costs are reduced, this method is entirely feasible.

### III

In protecting and rationally using natural grasslands and speeding up grassland construction, it is vital that we implement the relevant party policies and adopt suitable systems of organization and measures for each separate stock raising area. When Comrade Hu Yaobang made his investigative visit to Qinghai he said: "We should establish a principle for the stock breeding peasants and that principle should be not to rely on the amount of money the state provides, nor should the state press them to do this or that, rather we should adopt liberal policies and use these policies to mobilize their enthusiasm." Experiences over many years prove that only by relying on policies and mobilizing the enthusiasm of the hundreds and thousands of families can grassland construction have a truly solid mass foundation and only then can it be developed over long periods of time and will success be seen.

1. The right to use the grasslands should be placed firmly in the households. Over the last few years grassland construction work has involved a lot of organization and mobilization work and the state and the collectives have used a considerable amount of money in their work, and yet the masses have still been unwilling to do anything. In some production teams they were forced to go out and hire extra help at high prices to organize grassland construction in order to complete their tasks. The result was almost complete depletion of collective accumulation, while the enclosed grasslands, pens, and fodder bases were all of very poor quality and were unable to fulfill their true functions. One of the main reasons for this was the fact that the responsibility system had not been implemented in grassland management and there was no direct link between the personal interests of the peasants and the benefits of the construction of grasslands. The most effective way of solving this problem is the implementation of a contract system of responsibility in grassland and stock breeding work, placing the right to use the grasslands in the hands of the households so that the manager, constructor, and utilizer of one piece of grassland remains the same person for a long period of time. If there are



problems with organizing this in terms of separate households then it can be organized on the basis of several unified households. A large area of grassland is divided up into parts and each section allocated to a household has clearly defined duties, rights, and interests. Each family or household can draw up their plans for construction on the basis of the actual situation. Questions of labor and finances can also be solved by the masses themselves. At present, over 75 percent of Qinghai's stock breeding production brigades are involved in the contract responsibility system and the enthusiasm of the peasants in these areas in terms of protection and construction of the grasslands has greatly improved and instances of rustling and overbreeding have now basically disappeared, and in their place has appeared a new atmosphere characterized by individual grass planting, household building of pens and enclosures, and so on.

2. Correctly handle the relationship between division and unity. When we talk about grassland construction, putting the grasslands in the hands of the households by any means means the end of all our problems. It is also important and vital to clarify, according to the conditions of each region, what items should be carried out in a decentralized way and what should be organized in a unified way. In general, the planting of grass and fodder, the building of grassland enclosures, and the building of small-scale irrigation works--all of which are of a small scale, involve little money, and have quick results and direct benefits--should be carried out by individuals or households. In this way, we can ensure full utilization of the manpower and financial resources of each family and household and we can speed up construction and guarantee quality. On the other hand, Qinghai also has about 80 million mu of blackened "devegetated grasslands" which have been totally destroyed by vermin and insects. This area is one of the key areas for improvements to the grasslands, although no good solution to the problem has been found for many years. Like the opening up of barren regions for agriculture, these regions should be allocated for planting to members of production brigades. Sons and daughters should be permitted to carry on the work and continue the improvement and restoration of vegetation. However, there are some tasks which individual households or families would find it difficult to tackle alone. For example, the extinction of vermin and insects requires action on a very large scale and over a large area of land in order to be effective. If one family exterminates vermin and another does not, then we will get nowhere. In addition, it would not be possible for individual families or households to construct large grass breeding bases or construct large-scale irrigation works. These kinds of projects must be organized in a unified way by the production brigade. In conclusion, the construction of the grasslands cannot be done in ones and twos, it must involve diversified and comprehensive mobilization and the enthusiasm of the collective and the individuals to protect and construct the grasslands.

3. We should actively develop specialized households to deal with the planting of grass and fodder. At present, most stock breeding production brigades in northern Qinghai have now established stable fodder and grass bases. In addition, over 400,000 mu of land has been changed from agricultural use to stock breeding. Good management of this and newly acquired



land is a question which requires intensive research. Judging by the situation mentioned above concerning the implementation of the system of contract responsibility in stock raising, it would seem that one good measure to take would be the implementation of specialized contract responsibility systems and the development of specialized and key households dealing with the planting of grass and fodder. These specialized and key households would be in charge of the production, processing, and selling of grass and fodder. In addition, they could till land and store grass for raising stock. In this way the grass fodder bases, stock raising machines and tools, and the labor force may be integrated in an even better way, playing an even bigger role in the development of the stock breeding industry. In addition, it will help the specialized division of labor and ensure that stock breeding production develops gradually toward collectivized management. This is something very new for us and we still lack practical experience. We must make great efforts to promote and draw up accurate policies, provide necessary support in terms of finances, stock breeding machinery and tools, grass storage equipment, and science and technology, and help to solve problems related to production, processing, and circulation and promote the healthy development of stock breeding.

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## VIGOROUSLY DEVELOP HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION AND ROAD TRANSPORT

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[Article by Xian Lizhi [0341 4539 1807]]

[Text] The 12th CPC National Congress clearly pointed out that transportation and communications are an extremely weak link in China's national economy and hence are a key point in economic construction. At present in China there are five major methods of transport and communications--rail, road, river, air, and pipelines. Each has its own characteristics and their advantages should be developed to make up for their shortcomings, with the superiority and advantages of each being exploited so as to construct a comprehensive network of communications and transportation characterized by coordination and unity, the aim of which will be to serve socialist modernized construction. Among these various forms of transportation and communications, road transport occupies a very important position.

### I

Road transport forms the link between industrial and agricultural production and production and consumption and it is an important integral part of social reproduction. At present, the various goods trucks, buses, coaches, hand-pulled carts, animal carts, and bicycles which use China's roads and highways each day carry a total of around 100 million people. Road transport can be characterized as dynamic, involving few changes, and enabling door to door transportation (direct delivery from one work unit to another). Thus in terms of medium length and short distances, it is superior to other forms of transportation. For example, between Wuhan and Yichang there are four forms of transport available: road, rail, air, and boat. The distance by rail is 500 km and the price per passenger is 18.8 yuan (for a hard sleeper) and 37 yuan for a soft sleeper. The travel time takes 12 hours. The distance by boat is 722 km and the fare is 7.9 yuan (for a fifth-class berth) or 19.6 yuan (for a second-class berth). Travel time takes 24 hours (downstream) and 36 hours (upstream). The distance by air is 300 km and the fare costs 20 yuan with a flight time of 1 hour. The distance by road is 350 km, travel time takes 8 hours and the price is 9 yuan. In other words, the price by road is the cheapest and the distance and travel time only more than by air. If the grade of this road was

improved and it was reconstructed as a grade-one road or even an express highway then travel time would be shortened to about 3 to 4 hours and the price would be even cheaper and thus the cost of transporting goods would be less than by rail. Hence, within certain distances, road transportation does have definite advantages over other forms of transportation.

The cost of constructing roads is also cheaper than the cost of constructing railways and the time involved in such construction is also less, with sections of road being put into operation during the entire construction program and with work being carried out on section after section so that investment returns are much quicker. According to estimates, the construction of a 100-km stretch of grade-three asphalt road requires an investment of 30 million yuan. After completion, 2,500 vehicles could use the road every 24 hours which in 1 year amounts to transport loads of between 3 and 4 million tons. Every year one 4 to 5 ton heavy duty truck can make a tax profit of around 10,000 yuan, thus in only a few years' time the entire investment may be regained. The road under construction right now between Qinghai and Xizang spans a distance of 1,940 km; before the present improvement and construction the entire road was a sand and stone road, of which the 781 km between Xining and Geermu were reconstructed as a second-grade asphalt road in 1977. Before the reconstruction work, the journey from Xining to Geermu took 4 days for heavy duty trucks, and because of the bad condition of the road the trucks were often damaged during the trip which would then require a 2-day stop in Geermu for repairs before they could continue. Thus the entire trip there and back would amount to around 12 days. After reconstruction work, the trip from Xining to Geermu only takes 2 days and thus the entire trip there and back only takes a total of 4 days. In one single trip trucks are able to make a 15 percent saving on gasoline. Tires were originally manufactured to last for 55,000 km but now they are able to last for 65,000 km. Major overhauls originally used to be every 70,000 km but this distance can now be extended to 120,000 km. In only 3 years of this kind of economization, the entire construction costs for the road can be repaid. The same situation also applies abroad. In American road transport construction, every \$1 income requires an investment of \$0.22, whereas rail requires an investment of \$2.17. In road transport, capital can be turned over three times per year whereas in rail transport it takes between 3 to 4 years for one single turnover of capital. Thus, it can be seen that the development of road transport is worthwhile. For many years the Soviet Union has constantly stressed the development of railways and thus road development has slowed down, resulting in enormous damage. According to their own estimates, there are annual losses of between 4 to 5 billion rubles because agricultural products cannot be transported from the place of production. Since the 1970's the Soviet Union has greatly increased investments in road construction and in the 11th 5-Year Plan period investments were doubled and 20,000 kilometers of roads were laid each year.

In some industrially developed countries today the speed of development of road transport is faster than that of rail or water transport and thus road transport occupies an increasingly important position. The turnover of goods transported on roads represents the following percentages of total

turnover: West Germany, 48.3 percent; Britain, 65 percent; France, 57 percent; Japan, 40.8 percent; and the United States, where the situation is rather special, 22.5 percent. Passenger turnover in road transport represents an even higher percentage. In recent years the production of and demand for top quality products has been constantly increasing and labor forces costs constantly rising, thus, in order to make higher profits, the capitalists have paid a great deal of attention to circulation and they have developed nonstop transportation, cut down on changes and stops, reduced goods damage and wage expenditure, and extended the economic distance of road transport (road transport costs are lower than those of rail transport for distances under 500 km). All this has spurred on the development of road construction and road transport.

## II

During the founding of new China the total length of roadways for vehicular traffic use only amounted to 75,000 km; there were very few bridges and the majority of these were merely temporary wooden bridges. Today China has constructed 900,000 kilometers of roadway and around 130,000 bridges of various types (with a total length of some 3.8 million meters). The Huanghe and the Changjiang are two world-famous rivers in China and before liberation the Huanghe only had one single-lane road bridge across it at Lanzhou; today, there are 41 road bridges of various types across the river while another 5 are under construction. The Jinan-Huanghe road bridge constructed last year with a span of 220 meters is China's biggest prestressed concrete skew bridge, making it the largest of its kind in Asia and one of the biggest in the world. Before liberation there were no bridges whatsoever across the Changjiang; today, there are now some 20 road bridges of various kinds. However, in overall terms China's roads are today still rather backward, they are insufficient in number, of poor quality, and low in standard. Not only are they poor in comparison with bridges in developed countries, they are also rather poor in comparison with developing countries. In the United States there are some 6.3 million kilometers of roads and on average, in every 100 square-kilometers there are about 66 kilometers of road while for every 10,000 people there are around 310 kilometers of roadway. There are a total of 80,000 kilometers of express highways. In Japan there are around 1.1 million kilometers of roadway with an average of about 300 kilometers of roadway for every 100 square-kilometers of land and 100 kilometers of roadway for every 10,000 people. There are around 3,000 kilometers of express highway in the country. In India there are about 1.4 million kilometers of roadway with an average of around 46 kilometers for every 100 square-kilometers of land and an average of around 23 kilometers of road for every 10,000 people. There are about 400 kilometers of express highways in India. In China there are 900,000 kilometers of roadway at present with only about 9 kilometers of road for every 100 square-kilometers of land and only about 9 kilometers of road for every 10,000 people, while on the mainland of China there are no express highways as yet. In Japan there are about 14.6 meters of roadway for every mu of agricultural land whereas in China there is only about 0.6 meter of road for every mu of land. In 1982 annual goods transported by road in China amounted to 4.4 billion tons while passenger

traffic amounted to 3 billion people. According to estimates based on the relationship between national economic development since liberation and the development of road transport, by the end of the century, with industrial and agricultural output quadrupled, annual goods transported by road will have reached around 20 billion tons and passenger traffic will have amounted to 20 billion people. Thus, there is an enormous gap between the amount of roads that China has at the moment and objective requirements. Hence, there must be large-scale development of road construction and road transport before they can meet the requirements of national economic development.

The current situation concerning roads in China is very bad. Of the 900,000 kilometers of roadway, only 780,000 km have laid road surfaces and of this only 170,000 km are black surfaced roads (this usually means asphalt or tar covered roads but in actual fact more than half are residual oil roads which often melt in summer and crack during winter). Another 220,000 kilometers of roadway have no surface and are merely earthen roads which are often very difficult to use, while in wet weather they are impassable. Around 40 percent of all the roads in China do not meet with the lowest technological standards as stipulated by the state.

Because of the bad state of roads in China, there are a great many small tonnage gasoline trucks which use the roads and hence energy consumption in road transport in China is high. At present, 90 percent of all the gasoline produced in China is used for vehicular transport. According to calculations of gasoline consumption per ton-kilometer, by the end of this century when road transport will be handling 20 billion tons of goods and 20 billion people in the form of passenger traffic, there will be an annual consumption of around 40 million tons of gasoline or more. It will be very difficult to ensure that gasoline production can reach this level by the end of the century and thus it is necessary to adopt various technological measures to reduce gasoline consumption and improve the condition of road transport in general.

### III

In order to meet the requirements of the four modernizations and the glorious target of achieving the quadrupling of industrial and agricultural output by the end of the century, there must be enormous development in road transport in China. In order to do this, I believe that the following few problems must be solved.

1. The problem of a system. During the early years of liberation in China the responsibility for road construction was carried jointly by the central authorities and each region. The central authorities were responsible for the planning and construction of trunk roads while each region was responsible for the planning and construction of regional or minor roads. During the period of the First 5-Year Plan, investments by the central authorities in road construction represented about 3 percent of the total investments in capital construction each year. It was during this period that many of the large trunk roads such as the Sichuan to Xizang road, the Qinghai to

Xizang road, the Sichuan to Guizhou road, and the Guizhou to Yunnan road were all planned and built by the central authorities. Not only did these trunk roads provide important support for the frontline during the early days of liberation, they also played an extremely important role in socialist construction. These trunk roads with their long distances and enormous scale ran through many different regions and thus it was not possible for one province, town, or region to complete them. Thus, it was necessary and fitting that these major trunk lines be planned and constructed by the central authorities. Because enthusiasm in the central authorities and in the various regions was fairly good during that time there was fairly good development in both trunk roads and regional and local roads. In today's terms it seems that this system of split management is good.

In 1958, all roads were put under regional control and the head road management office was dissolved as were the eight road engineering offices and five road exploration and design institutes under direct central control. Thus, an entire system of road management was wiped out and as a result a laissez-faire situation arose as far as unified planning of road management was concerned while policies, regulation systems, technological standards, quota management, and team construction all became very vague. Annual capital construction investments by the central authorities did not include road construction. In 1964, road construction was seen to be further relegated to the ranks of nonindustrial production and road construction was eliminated from investments in productive construction and every region was obliged to resort to the use of road tolls, state subsidies, local management, and so on in order to maintain and construct roads.

Once a stretch of road has been built, constant wear from vehicles and the corrosion of various natural elements require that frequent repairs and maintenance be carried out. Since the founding of new China, the principle of "making road users look after the roads" has been adopted, thus, a road toll has been levied on all vehicles using the roads. The money is mainly used for the maintenance of already completed roads. At present, annual average revenue from these road tolls reaches approximately 3 billion yuan. If all of this is used for upkeep of China's 900,000 kilometers of roads, then the cost of repairs per kilometer will be around 3,000 yuan (annual wages for road maintenance workers is around 1,000 yuan per kilometer, which leaves 2,000 yuan, which is only enough to buy 5 tons of asphalt and there are still other materials such as sand and stone and maintenance tools to be bought). Because there are no funds for road construction, each region must use one-third of its road maintenance funds for new construction projects and this means that funds for the maintenance and repair of existing roads have dropped considerably and hence the state of the roads in general also has dropped. This is one of the most important reasons why roads in China today are in such bad condition.

Because of the lack of funds for road construction, it is impossible to construct many roads which need to be built and as the standard of existing roads is already low and the state of the roads very bad, it is impossible



for the roads to bear all the transport loads that they should; thus, the burden on the railways has increased, resulting in shortages and difficulties in rail transport. Because no roads are being built it is impossible to disperse and deliver some import and export goods on time at some ports and harbors, this has produced stockpiled goods at the ports and harbors. Thus, it can be seen that the poor state of the roads in China is one of the main reasons why some important means of transport are badly organized and structured and lack coordination and are thus unable to exploit the comprehensive benefits of transport. If this situation is not altered quickly, it will affect the four modernizations. In order to change this situation we must change the present system. Thus, I suggest that roads be divided into four categories: state roads, provincial roads, country roads, and production team roads. Management should be carried out accordingly. State roads should be planned, constructed, and managed by the central authorities; provincial and country roads should be planned, constructed, and managed by each region; and production team roads should, depending on demand, be built and managed by the masses themselves, thus being run by the people with state subsidies.

At the same time, a development fund for road construction should be set up in order to solve the problem of funds for road construction. Fifteen percent of road upkeep costs should be taken from energy and communications construction funds together with a certain percentage from each year's state capital construction investments, to be used as a "state road construction development fund" and to be entered into state planning and to be used for the construction of state trunk roads with allocation of the funds being decided by the communications department on the basis of urgency and importance. Construction of other roads should be carried out on the basis of the principle that whoever benefits from it should bear the financial responsibility of constructing it. Various methods can be adopted such as regional financial allocation, fund raising, and loans, with unified organization by all levels of government.

2. The problem of improving the quality of roads. On the basis of past experiences, by the time industrial and agricultural output has been quadrupled at the end of this century, vehicular transport loads should have more than quadrupled. There is only one way to achieve this target and that is to use advanced science and technology to improve existing roads and raise their passage capacity. 1) Technological improvements and transformations must be carried out on the 40 percent of China's existing 900,000 kilometers of roads which do not come up to the very lowest technological standards. 2) Link up the 3,000 kilometers of deadend roads within China's 100,000 kilometers of state trunk roads, so as to create a state trunk network. 3) Carry out technological improvements on road surfaces and make great efforts to develop asphalt surfaces which have such obvious economizing results. By 1990, the 40,000 kilometers of sand and stone trunk roads with a transport load of more than 1,000 vehicles should all be resurfaced with asphalt. Emphasis should be put on improving roads from Beijing to Tanggu, from Shenyang to Dalian, from Guangzhou to Huangpu, and from Hangzhou to Ningpao--all roads which lead from ports and harbors and follow rail routes. This will mean that passage capacity will improve

from 5,000 vehicles to more than 25,000 vehicles. We should strive to ensure that by the end of the century the total distance of asphalt covered roads reaches some 300,000 kilometers. At the same time we should also construct new roads where necessary and suitable. By 1990 we must try to ensure that total road length reaches more than 1 million kilometers and by the end of the century we should aim for a total road distance of between 1.3 and 1.5 million kilometers.

3. Solve the problem of the production of road asphalt. The production of asphalt for road usage should be entered into state production planning and, on the basis of the requirements of road construction, asphalt should be provided to the road construction department according to plan. According to calculations and statistics gathered throughout China by the communications department, vehicles using asphalt covered roads are able to save around 12 to 20 percent in terms of gasoline, because they are able to drive faster. A heavy duty 4-ton Liberation-brand truck consumes around 28.5 liters of gasoline every 100 km on a sand and stone road, whereas on an asphalt road it consumes only 24 liters for the same distance. If 10,000 kilometers of trunk roads used by more than 1,000 vehicles every day were resurfaced with asphalt, then around 10,000 tons of gasoline could be saved every year. When an asphalt road is completed it can be used for some 10 to 15 years thus making savings to the value of more than 1 billion yuan. For every 1 ton of asphalt used in the construction of a road around 1.8 liters of gasoline is saved during the use of that ton of asphalt. Thus, the building of asphalt roads is a good way of economizing for once the investment is made there are long-term economic benefits to be reaped.

4. Solve the problem of research, development, and production of large and medium-scale diesel engine trucks. At present, there are very few large tonnage gasoline trucks on the roads in China and the vast majority of trucks are small tonnage gasoline trucks which consume large amounts of gasoline and this is another important reason why road transport usage is so high. In the use of 8-ton, 16-ton, and 32-ton large-scale heavy duty trucks, comparative gasoline consumption per kilometer is as follows: 1:0.6:0.4 while transportation costs are: 1:0.4:0.2. Thus, the use of large-scale heavy duty gasoline trucks will greatly reduce road transport usage and bring down road transport costs. For this reason, we should actively change the vehicle structure of road transport so that large and medium-scale diesel trucks replace the small tonnage gasoline trucks and this will rationalize the structure of large-, medium-, and small-scale trucks involved in road transport. This thus requires that research, development, and production of large- and medium-sized diesel trucks be entered into state planning so that this problem can be thoroughly solved.

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HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF SOCIALIST LITERATURE--SOME THOUGHTS ON HUNAN'S  
LITERATURE CREATION IN RECENT YEARS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 83 pp 32-36

[Article by Kang Zhou [1660 3451]]

[Text]

I

Ideology is the spirit of creative writing and communism is the spirit of socialist literature. All high-minded writers are full of revolutionary passion and represent the will of the people. All outstanding literary works should reflect from various angles the spirit of the times. In recent years, what has become characteristic of Hunan's literature is that most of its writers have profound thoughts and a skillful approach and that they have, to a certain extent, reflected history.

The first edition of "The Sufferings of a General," which won the Maodun prize for literature, was written by Mo Yingfeng in the countryside in the spring of 1976. Knowing that the Tiananmen incident was suppressed by the "gang of four," the writer was further infuriated and he could not control his rage. His novel was the first piece of literature which reflected the absurdity of the 10-year internal disorder. At that time, it was definitely very difficult for a writer to have a correct knowledge of the internal disorder. The writer is, of course, not a prophet. But since he has a sound knowledge of Marxism, he was able to keep abreast of the times and bold to discern, consider, and analyze in depth the disordered life during that period. Like the revolutionary warriors in front of the Tiananmen, he reflects the strong desire of the party and the people. Ren Guangchun's "The Bloodshed in Wuxu" was written round about the "anti-Lin and anti-Confucius movement" staged by the "gang of four." At that time, leaders of the Wuxu reform such as Tan Sitong were criticized as capitulators and reactionaries. The writer, however, went against the political trend. He, of course, embodied the strength of historical materialism as possessed by the party and the people.

Gu Hua's "Lotus City," which won the Maodun prize, was written at a later stage. It was, however, the epitome of a city's political changes and public feelings during the past decades. It was written in such a bold manner that nearly everything was laid bare. Those who read the book for

the first time may find the book thrilling and striking. The profundity and strength of the writer's ideology was reflected by his boldness to depict a series of matters which others dared not touch. The length of Ye Weilin's novelle "Sailing on a River Without Navigation Marks" was not too long, but it was regarded by Comrade Deng Ling as "a long picture, as long as 'Sailing on the River at Ching Ming Festival.'" I believe that the profundity of the novelette lies in its thorough and striking depiction of the perturbation and madness of the antirevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, the torture suffered by the people, the flames of revolution, and the sparkling beauty of the laborers' spirit.

What makes some of Hunan's outstanding literary works creative and touching is that they are profound and strong in ideology. Through their works the writers dig deep into contemporary problems which concern the people most. The people come to know what the problems are after they have been pointed out by the writers. The people are greatly enlightened and inspired and they can never forget the encouragement they get. The spirit and themes of such literary works originated from the writers' study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and knowledge of the party's guiding principles and policies, and from their observation and experience in the complexity of life in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Many of Hunan's writers have attached much importance to the study of the works of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao. During the 10-year internal disorder, the "left" line was on a rampage. It made some comrades more doubtful and earnest to dig deep into the works of Marx, Lenin, and Comrade Mao, and to link them up with the extremely abnormal situation for careful consideration. That was the reason why comrades such as Mo Yingfang and Ren Guangchun had an earlier and more correct knowledge of the "Cultural Revolution." That was also the reason why since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, many writers have been motivated by the party's guiding principles and policies and the people's demands and become bold to liberate their minds and have been practical in abiding by the four basic principles, gotten rid of the long-standing "left" fetters such as dogmatism and personality cult, endeavor to smash formalism which dares not face life and reveal contradictions, truly reflect the mingling of people's suffering and joy, and to try their best to look for a course through which socialist newcomers are boldly confronted with contradictions, and to overcome difficulties and be successful.

As most of Hunan's literary works have attached much importance to ideology and spirit, their keynotes are healthy and sound. On the one hand, they are vigorous in castigating the evil deeds of the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, laying bare the problems and the seaminess with which we are confronted during our socialist cause. They do not merely expose such evil deeds, but instead learn the lessons of history by heart while glorifying the success made by the advanced forces of the revolution and the four modernizations through struggles. Aware of the trend of the times, the writers keep abreast of various aspects of life. They have created a batch of new socialist characters and images. They write on a wider range of subjects, with emphasis on reflecting workers, farmers, laborers, and intellectuals. They are zealously looking for

ideological and artistic breakthroughs and new ideas. This is one of the main characteristics of the development in recent years of Hunan's literary creation. However, some literary works have gone against reality and the ideals of the people in that they have found sustenance in outmoded capitalist humanitarianism, individual struggles, and even the pursuit of sex and religion. The ideology and spirit of literary works are of utmost importance. The spirit does not, however, come from books, but from the writers' practice of sharing weal and woe with the people under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and the party.

## II

Life is the only resource for literary creation. The reason why many Hunan writers have made great literary achievements, particularly in writing novels, is that their life experience is rich. Mo Yingfeng spent a long period in the army and during the "Cultural Revolution" he was closely associated with his old warriors and generals. He also went to the rural areas after he had been transferred to civilian work. He also fearlessly took part in the struggle against the "gang of four." Gu Hua was an ordinary worker in an agricultural research institute when he first started writing. He spent the following 14 years farming, learning technology, and working in the forest. He did that not for his writing, but the experience has helped him lay a foundation for creative writing. During the "Cultural Revolution," he was transferred to do manual labor in the countryside and underwent numerous miserable events. Sun Jianzhong, a writer of Tujia nationality, has all along been deeply infatuated with the Tujia fortified mountain villages in the south of Hunan. Zhang Buzhen has been a cadre at the grassroots level for many years. Tan Tan has just returned from the coal mine. Shui Yunxian and Xiao Yuxuan have long been veteran master workers. What they have written are their real experience and feelings. Even when they write on historical subjects, they are influenced by contemporary life and ideologies. Furthermore, they are entirely familiar with the 10-year internal disorder. As their ideas are profound and their experience is rich, they write with ease and skill. For instance, the tragic woman in Han Shaogong's "Yue Lan" has been an advanced commune worker and the young workers who are responsible for exploiting her are not at all evil. Such a subject was seldom touched on in the past. Even in today's literature, it is not easily handled. But the young novelist is bold and skillful in writing in a straightforward, simple, tragic, and rational manner. The key factor for his success is that he was a leader and worker in a production brigade while he settled in the countryside. How could these writers mature if they did not have rich experience in life?

Life is the basis for literary creation. Writers cannot mature if they are not nurtured by the laboring people. They should be exposed to the life of the laboring people as a kind of training. Though some writers may write only on intellectuals, urban residents, and office workers, it is impossible for them not to keep in touch with the countryside and factories. Workers and peasants are the masters of history and also the majority of the masses of the people. No matter what subjects or characters he writes on, a writer can never be profound and striking if he knows nothing about the

feelings of the workers and peasants. Our intellectuals are already part of the working class and the driving force of our socialist construction. They are commendable in that they have established a world outlook which aims to serve the people and unite the workers and peasants. It should be noted that even outstanding writers in the feudal age or the capitalist class are sympathetic with the workers, peasants, and laboring people. How are we going to be in harmony with the times and people if we do not closely associate ourselves with the laboring people, suffer setbacks, have an intimate knowledge of their happiness and hardship, and follow their virtue? Today life is different from what it was during wartime. Humanity keeps on overcoming various difficulties and moves forward. We cannot enjoy today's success, achieve our four modernizations, and construct an ideal culture if we have not gone through all kinds of hardships and difficulties. How can our writers have an intimate knowledge of the victory, felicity, and happiness of the people and reflect everything truthfully if they do not have any personal experience in the people's sufferings, setbacks, and failures of yesterday and today?

In recent years, (I have a feeling that) a small number of Hunan's writers are lagging behind even though they have been very diligent. The reasons are that they are ideologically backward and that to varying degrees they are divorced from actual life. Those outstanding writers have a deep love for life. Not only have they gone to the countryside to gain experience, but they have regarded themselves as masters and for a long period of time led a life at the grassroots level while joining hands with the people to reform the objective world. That is the reason why most of our literary works are very countrified, rich in the flavor of the times and local color. Some writers have written on trivial things which have little to do with the workers and peasants, novelettes which are made up by plots of personal sorrow and love affairs. Such works have even been praised by some critics, but we give them a low profile.

### III

Life, ideology, and spirit should be combined with artistic expression to form unified and harmonious works of art. All writers through the ages have shown their idiosyncracies and ideas and contributed to the artistic wealth of human beings which has become more and more splendid. However, after all, they have to rely on artistic expression in literary creation.

Artistic expression is the key to literary creation. In this respect, what counts most is newness, without which artistic life cannot be attained. "The Sufferings of a General" is great in that it has blazed an artistically new trail. It was the first novel which depicted thoroughly the "Cultural Revolution." It was also successful in depicting General Peng Qi, an indomitable image who has suffered persecution. "The Hilly Zig-Zag Road" does not seem to be striking. But the characters Jin Zhu and Er Meng, whose ordinary but lofty and superb souls have been particularly exposed in extraordinary situations, have won the favor of the readers who are deeply moved. Ye Weilin's Pan Laowu, Gu Bi's Sister Lotus and Gu Yanshan, and Fu Lianshan of "Trouble Arising at Home" are, to a certain extent,



typically significant for their originality. Their images are vivid and genuine, their feelings guileless and profound. They have touched the readers to the depths of their souls. The readers are greatly sympathetic with their flaws. This proves that artistic expressions and novelties cannot be only dependent on techniques and methods, but on a breakthrough in the unity of ideology, life, and art. In our opinion, such a unified form is revolutionary realism and romanticism.

Realism and romanticism, the unified form of various factors for artistic expression, should originate mainly from life. They are the enlightened vision of the writers through their observation of life. They have to be expressed through various techniques, forms, and methods, but things like techniques also originate from the life and experience of our predecessors. In sum, their experience also originated from life and the accumulation of artistic practice. The reason why "Sailing on a River Without Navigation Marks" is rich in realism and romanticism is that Ye Weilin has spent some time on Xiaoshui drinking and working with raftsmen who resemble Pan Laowu.

In fact, neither realism and romanticism nor the artistic trends in the capitalist world such as modernism, existentialism, Dadaism and stream of consciousness, which are under discussion by current literary and artistic journals, are pure methods of literary creation. Modernism has risen early in this century. It is a direct or indirect reflection of the contradictions in the Western world which is monopolized by the capitalist class. It is closely related to the tempo of life which is influenced by the continuous development of science and technology in the Western world. Although modernism did sparkle in Western capitalist literature, and some of its prominent works contain a certain degree of realism, it cannot be regarded as a treasure of Western literature. Worse still, it later went against the artistic law and denied characters and modes. It concentrated on man's alienation and perversion and advocated abstract irrationalism. It waned as it went to extreme absurdity.

It is not at all impossible for us to draw on the experience of certain normal and rational artistic forms and methods in modernism which can be digested and absorbed by us while being based on the life of our people and adhering to the principle of "Er Wei." But the problem is that in current discussions, there exists a viewpoint which is divorced from the people's life, and it does not get rid of foreign decadent and abnormal factors, nor does it take note of class differences. Instead, it takes the learning of modernist forms and methods as the way to improve and upgrade our literary creation. Ideologically and artistically, it is just putting the cart before the horse. It is even more ridiculous to have our traditions and "May 4" revolutionary literature and socialist literature refuted and replaced by modernism. Our writers are earnestly looking for ways to improve their literary creation, including ideological improvement and the study of artistic forms. They look for novelties and breakthroughs. But first we have to hold high the banner of socialist literature and should not be persistent in looking for forms and techniques.

#### IV

The new era has given birth to new talents and new art. Like other parts of the country, Hunan's literature circle is swamped with new talented writers. Hunan does not have very many elderly writers. Those middle-aged key figures who are still active began writing in the fifties or sixties. Apart from the above-mentioned writers, readers are well acquainted with writers Wei Yang, Xie Pu, Liu Yong, Zhou Jiangming, Shi Tairui, Li An, Lu Zhiluo, Luo Shixian, Peng Lunhu, and Yang Liang. They became mature after the founding of the republic. They have a deep feeling for the party and socialism. They also have a sound foundation of life and art. They have written some good novels, but they were once restrained by the "left" and have been looking for a breakthrough and improvement. The spirit of the 3d plenary session has enlightened them and helped them grasp authentic revolutionary realism and shape their own style.

Style is the mark of writers' maturity. Examples are Ye Weilin's outstanding depiction of Yaoshan and Xiaoshui, Mo Yingfeng's unique plot and vision, Gu Hua's depiction of the beautiful mountainous areas and forest, and Sun Jianzhong's wild and guileless description of the local conditions and customs of Tujia. Such works are based on the nation's traditions, particularly those of the May 4 revolutionary art. The writers proceed from their own interest and temperament and they are unique in their choice of subject matters and plots. They are eager to look for something new in artistic expression. They are unique in style, but all of them possess the same national characteristics and local features of Hunan.

There are still many new young writers in our team. Most of them emerged after the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly after the 3d plenary session. Their works are greater in quantity than those of writers in the past. They are greater in regard to ideology, life, and art than the young writers of the fifties and sixties. The new writers in recent years are more educated and have experienced a complicated and disordered life. They have had tortuous but superb experiences in the vast world. They have naively pursued illusions and they have suffered from disillusionment. They have tried hard to look for a solution to their sufferings. They have, therefore, made efforts to study hard and think a lot about life and look for an outlet. More often than not, after reading books of various viewpoints making deep investigation into reality, they came to the conclusion that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought was the only outlet for human sufferings. Such young writers are accustomed to discussing such things among themselves and they are keen to think deeply. They are experienced and knowledgeable. They also have keen insight. They are full of vivacity after they have become prominent.

Most of the major writers in Hunan are fairly united and prudent. Some elderly or fairly elderly writers care for the youngsters, as Zhou Libo and Jiang Muliang did during their lifetime. They keep regular contact with new writers. Both parties cherish the same ideals and follow the same path. Through regular meetings and discussions, both parties learn from one another and improve themselves. I was much amazed when some new young

writers told me how they probed into subjects such as "the fortuity of life," "the absurdity of the world," "the value of man," etc. after their will had been shaken during the "Cultural Revolution," and in the end all such subjects were refuted by theories and practice. After a series of learning and thinking to adopt the criterion of truth, they came to know better the people's destiny and the prospect of socialism and they found the importance and meaning of writing. The writers often meet together and discuss their recent works. Mo Yingfeng, a Maodun prize winner, told others last year that he had some difficulties in making a literary breakthrough and he asked his peers to conduct a "joint consultation." In view of his demand, the Hunan Writers' Association conducted a 1-week meeting on his work and two successful middle-aged and young writers' works. Not many people attended the meeting. But they came to know one another well. They studied the works and learned literature theories together and exchanged their experience in life. After that, they held group discussions on each writer's merits and shortcomings. The participants were candid and zealous. They sought common ground while reserving differences. To them, the meeting was inspiring and fruitful. Their commendable unity and their courage to make criticism and self-criticism have proved wrong that "scholars tend to scorn each other." Instead, they tended to befriend one another. They serve as a strengthening force which helps promote our team and continuously develop our literary creation.

## V

After putting into effect the guiding principles and policies since the 3d plenary session and carrying out correctly the two-line struggle, we have enjoyed greater achievement in literary creation in recent years.

On the one hand, we were disrupted by the "leftist" thinking. A few years ago, there existed, one after another, misinterpretations of the central government's adherence to the four basic principles and its order that attention should be paid to the social effects of literary works, saying that the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom" should come to an end. Since for many years the "leftist" influence on the literature circles had not been eliminated, there were different views on the incisive questions raised in some works which were depictions of bringing order out of chaos and which appeared around the 3d plenary session. Some writers still had a lingering fear and were in a state of ideological confusion when "leftist" thinking was prevailing. Through the support of the provincial committee and under the direction of the party, we immediately became aware of the problem. We resolutely stood up to the adverse current and called upon our writers to gradually enhance their understanding through discussions. We turned the tide fairly quickly as we unswervingly carried out the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" under the four basic principles.

On the other hand, we were disrupted by "right" thinking. The bourgeois liberalization of Hunan's literature circles is manifested by the publication of individual journals which were detrimental to our adherence to the four basic principles and which denied the tradition of revolutionary

literature since the May 4 movement, causing cultural contamination. This is the major current mistake that should be rectified. Only when we put an end to bourgeois liberalization and remain culturally uncontaminated can we hold high the banner of socialist literature, stick to proletariat literature, and prevent ourselves from being corrupted by Western modernism, humanitarianism, existentialism, and self-expression.

These erroneous views, "left" and "right," that appeared in our literary frontline were attributable to the people's misconception and internal contradiction. Criticism and self-criticism should be made and errors have to be rectified through meticulous and patient admonition and education. A few years ago one of our writers wrote a novel whose subject matter and characters were rather creative. Its theme was, however, detrimental to socialism. We did not refute the novel all at once. On the contrary, we gave credence to its positive views and pointed out in principle its negative views so that the writer would revise his novel. He accepted our advice and he has shown improvement in his later works. This story fully reflects the strength of criticism and self-criticism.

When we look back, we have a strong feeling that in recent years we have made our way under the guidance of the central government and moved forward under the banner of socialist literature. Though we have had some success in literature creation, it is too insignificant. There are only a few Hunan writers who are in the lead. Many localities are ahead of us. Compared with the construction of socialist culture, particularly with the stirring cause of making a breakthrough in socialist modernization, our literature creation still has a long way to go. The reasons are that our knowledge of theories is insufficient; we have not gone deep enough into life, and even some of our outstanding middle-aged or young writers have begun to feel that they are losing their staying power; and their artistic attainments are substandard and they are weak in literary criticism. Only when we become well aware of our shortcomings and redouble our efforts and try hard to catch up can we continue to make better and better achievements.

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## CADRES' THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS

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["Cadres' Theoretical Discussions" column]

[Text] Is Issuance of Orders by the State "Alienation"?

(By Ruo Fei [5387 7236])

In some articles published in recent years that advocate the "theory of socialist alienation," there is an important argument which regards issuance of orders by our socialist state to its citizens as "alienation." Some articles even hold that the existence of a socialist country itself signifies political "alienation" or "alienation" in power. These viewpoints are entirely wrong.

China is a state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the CPC). It is the organizer and leader of the activities in political, economic, military, and diplomatic fields and in the entire social life of the whole country. It should and must issue orders to its citizens, such as promulgating and implementing the constitution and other decrees, implementing the national economic and social development plan, issuing orders and instructions for attacking economic and criminal offenses, issuing orders for mobilization and preparations against war in unusual times, and so on. Without the orders issued by the state, there would be no order and coordination in the entire social life and it would be impossible for all citizens to act in unison, which is bound to lead to confusion. Consequently, the state will not be able to be the organizer and leader of the society and will not be entitled to be a state.

In order to organize and lead the entire society, besides ensuring the correctness of the issuance of orders, the state must not rely merely on issuing orders, but must conduct a great deal of organizational, ideological, political, and educational work. Nevertheless, the issuance of orders is absolutely necessary. A state must have supreme authority and this is particularly necessary in a large country like ours.

In his famous thesis "On Authority," Engels pointed out: Due to the objective needs of the development of social economic conditions, the society

"tends more and more to replace isolated action by combined action of individuals." He further pointed out: "Everywhere combined action, the complication of processes dependent upon each other, displaces independent action by individuals. But whoever mentions combined action speaks of organization; now, is it possible to have organization without authority?" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, pp 551-552) Engels used the examples that factories must require the workers to operate in a precise and coordinated manner and trains and ships must ensure safety of operation to explain the obedience of all to the will of one (whether this will is represented by a single delegate or a committee). That is to say, authority is necessary. Moreover, the development of socialist economy and complicated social connections tend to enlarge the scope of this authority. Engels pointed out: "It is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good. Authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society." (Ibid., p 553)

If authority is absolutely necessary for normal and safe operation in factories, railways, and ships, then it is also absolutely necessary for the entire society. Before the highest stage of communism is completely realized and before the state withers away, the form of this authority is still the state.

Is issuance of orders by the state definitely "alienation"? The essence of the whole matter depends on the nature of the state.

The state came into being at a certain historical stage of social development. It will gradually wither away under future communism and be replaced by a more advanced form of social organization. During its existence and developing history of several thousand years, the state, under the domination of the exploiting classes, was actually alienated from society. However, in the proletarian era, a number of completely brand-new states appeared in the history of mankind, such as the emergence of the Paris Commune and the establishment of soviet power, including the founding of the people's democratic dictatorship, led by our party and a series of socialist countries. This new type of state is the necessary form and inevitable course for the proletarian and working people to thoroughly transform the old world and build a new one. It is entirely different from the state under the domination of all the exploiting classes in history. It is not a force that is "alienated" from society, but one that serves society. Classical Marxists have made many brilliant expositions on the essence of this new type of state. While expounding the great significance of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out: "All previous forms of government had been emphatically repressive. Its true secret was this. It was essentially a working-class government, the product of the struggle of the producing class against the appropriating class, the political form, at last discovered, under which to work out the economic emancipation of labor." (Ibid., p 378) Our People's Republic is the type of state, like the Paris Commune, in which the people are masters of the country. Those who try to confuse the state in which the people are masters of their own affairs with



the state under the domination of the exploiting classes are bound to distort the nature of our socialist state.

In a word, our People's Republic is the negation of all states in history that have been alienated from society. The issuance of orders to the people by our socialist state is by no means "alienation" from its citizens, on the contrary, the orders issued by the state accord with the interests of the people and thereby coincide with the fundamental interests of the people.

Where Does the Mistake Lie in Saying That the State Ownership of the Means of Production in Our Country Constitutes an "Alien Force" to the Working Masses?

(By Ren Weizhong [0117 4850 1813])

It is a characteristic phenomenon in class society and particularly in capitalist society for the means of production to become an "alien force" to the working masses. Under capitalism, part of the products created by the workers is transformed into the means of production. The capitalists monopolize the means of production and turn them into an instrument for exploiting the working class. Although there is state ownership in capitalist society, the means of production are still alien forces to the working class because the states in capitalist society are bourgeois states and the means of production of state ownership are means of production of the capitalists. Ours is a socialist state in which the people are masters of the country and the means of production belong to the people of the whole country. They are means of seeking benefits for the people of the whole country and not an instrument of any class that exploits the working people. If such means of production are regarded as an alien force to the working masses, it is, in fact, confusing the fundamental difference between socialist and capitalist states and regarding the means of production of socialist state ownership as the means for exploiting the working people.

Socialist state ownership is founded on the basis of abolishing capitalist private ownership. It is an inevitable outcome that overcomes the contradiction between capitalist private ownership of the means of production and mass production. As socialist state ownership is the opposite of capitalist private ownership, its historical mission is to liberate the masses of people from capitalist domination and the shackles of exploitation and to let them become true masters of the means of production; to emancipate the social productive forces from blind competition, anarchism in production, and destructive periodic economic crises, and to let them develop in a planned and proportionate manner. If it is necessary to use the concept "alienation," we should say that the process of wiping out capitalist private ownership and the implementation of the state ownership of the means of production is precisely the process of overcoming alienation of labor and the process of turning the means of production, which was an alien force that dominated the working people, into the means of seeking the interests of the working people.

The basis of those who say that the state ownership of the means of production in our country constitutes an "alien force" is that the state ownership of the means of production is not directly in the hands of the working masses. It is not the laborers but the cadres appointed by the state organs under the leadership of the communist party that are integrated with the means of production. This is sheer distortion of the social essence of the direct integration of the laborers and the means of production. The criterion for judging the direct integration of the laborers and the means of production is whether or not there are exploiters who monopolize the means of production between the laborers and the means of production. In socialist society, after the abolition of capitalist private ownership, the working people have become masters of the means of production. They exercise power over the means of production through their representatives, the state organs. The times when they were separated from the means of production are gone forever. How, then, can we say that the working people are not directly integrated with the means of production?

It is necessary, in the socialist period, to implement the ownership by the whole people in the highly socialized and large-size industrial, mining, communications, and transportation enterprises. State ownership is the form of ownership by the whole people adopted in socialist China. A socialist state not only performs a political function, but also performs the functions of organizing and managing the economy. In the economy of public ownership, the working people exercise power over the ownership of the means of production always through their representatives. This is also the case in the economy of ownership by the whole people. Under the leadership of the party, only when the state, on behalf of the fundamental interests of the people of the whole country, exercises power over the means of production of the ownership by the whole people can the development of socialist economy, the necessary centralism and unity, and the planned and proportionate development of the national economy be ensured. If we hold that the direct integration of the laborers and the means of production can be realized only by deviating from the leadership of the party and state and by letting every member of the whole country exercise direct power over the means of production, then we should be practicing ownership by the individual instead of ownership by the state and the collective. In fact, it is impossible to steadily and spontaneously develop ownership by individuals without the leadership of public ownership and this is bound to lead to class division, which will produce new exploiters.

With regard to the practices of bureaucratism, subjectivism, inadequate democracy, merely depending on administrative measures and not applying economic means in managing the economy, and so on, they are not inherent in the economy of state ownership. They are caused by many reasons, such as the influences of the old society, new changes taking place in objective conditions, former management methods being unsuitable in the new situation, lack of experience, an imperfect economic management system, and so on. These problems can be solved by summing up experience and drawing lessons, improving work methods, and reforming the economic management system.

## Why Can We Not Say That "Alienation" Is a Universal Law?

(By Zhang Qihua [1728 0796 5478])

There is a viewpoint which interprets "alienation" as a theory in the basic category of materialist dialectics and which regards it as a regular and universal phenomenon. This viewpoint tries to provide a philosophical basis for the "theory of socialist alienation" and is wrong.

"Alienation" is a concept with indefinite meaning. Some European thinkers, philosophers, writers, and artists in the past gave this concept many different meanings. For example, it could be used to explain estrangement and separation in the relations between men, transferring ownership of property, alienism, and so on. Later on, this concept was used to describe the phenomena of reverse control, manipulation, and rule by the object created from the subject. Neither Hegel nor Feuerbach nor Marx applied this concept of "alienation" in the universal law. Hegel only used "alienation" in forming his idealist philosophical system. In his opinion, spirit is transformed into nature and, in the development of nature, it reaches the spiritual stage again and finally returns to the "spiritual alienation" of absolute spirit. Feuerbach only used "alienation" to expose the secret of religion. In his theory of "human alienation," he held that man entrusts his innate nature to God and, in turn, is dominated by God. Marx only used "alienation" to lay bare the exploitation by capital of labor. He used "labor alienation" to explain that the products created by the workers in turn enslaved the workers. As "alienation" is a concept that can be given different definitions and that has no universal significance, it cannot be a theory in the basic category of materialist dialectics, still less can it be a universal law. This is because a theory in the basic category of materialist dialectics must be the summarization and reflection of the universal nature of objective things and the most common logical form of dialectical thinking. The universal law of materialist dialectics must be the universal essential link common to all things. It should master nature, human society, and the developing changes in all spheres of human thought. How can the concept "alienation," which expresses only certain social phenomena, reflect the universal nature of and universal essential link between objective things?

Marx did not use the concept "alienation" in the sense of reflecting a universal law. Marx regarded "alienation" as a concept that had a limited meaning and range of use. He used it to mainly explain "labor alienation." First of all, Marx used "alienation" to explain how the things created by man in turn ruled man, that is, how the products created by the workers in turn became things that dominated the workers. These things that dominate man belong to the category of production relations. The production relations embodied in these things are capital, that is, the capitalist relations of production. It is thus obvious that Marx used "alienation" as a social concept to describe the antagonistic relations between labor and capital and between the working class and the bourgeois class, and not as a concept universally applicable to all fields of research. "Alienation" is the summarization and reflection only of the specific nature of certain

objective things and not the summarization and reflection of the universal nature of objective things. Secondly, as Marx used the concept "alienation" to reveal the antagonistic relations between labor and capital and, what is more, as the capitalist relations of production cannot last forever, the "alien" phenomenon in which things dominate man described by Marx is not eternal. This shows that Marx, by "alienation," referred only to a temporary phenomenon in human history and that he regarded "alienation" as a historical concept, not universally applicable to all historical periods. Some comrades have regarded "alienation," which is a concept confined in terms of society, history, range of use, and implication, as being used by Marx as a concept that reflects a universal law and they have applied this concept at random. It is quite obvious that such acts run counter to the original idea of "alienation" as described by Marx.

Those comrades who uphold the "theory of socialist alienation" try to confuse "alienation" with contradiction, with one dividing into two, with transformation of opposites, with negation of negation, and with the dialectics of thinking and existence. They mainly try to equate "alienation" with contradiction, and attempt to apply this concept indiscriminately to all the practices in socialism at will. Consequently, they draw a conclusion by saying that "alienation" is a universal law in socialist society and that it exists in all spheres of socialist society in China. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to equate "alienation" with contradiction. With regard to the range in which Marx used the concept "alienation," this concept did reflect certain contradictions. However, not all contradictions belong to the category of "alienation." "Alienation" is a contradiction that only reflects the content of a particular state of history and it is a form of antagonistic contradiction.

Looking upon "alienation" as a universal and eternal concept is a Western social trend that has prevailed in the last few decades. On the one hand, some Western scholars have, since the 1930's, attempted to boost the concept of "alienation" so as to negate Marxism; and on the other hand, "alienation" still exists in Western capitalist society, and is bound to find expression in people's minds. Some of our comrades have accepted this viewpoint without making any analysis and, therefore, they have made theoretical mistakes. We must eliminate the influences of the Western bourgeois class in this respect, persist in applying the basic principles of dialectical materialism and historical materialism in observing, analyzing, and explaining the negative practices in socialist society, appropriately solve all kinds of contradiction, and promote the building of socialist modernization. Using "alienation" to summarize everything and regarding "alienation" as a universal law will only help to confuse the people's thinking and cause the people's confidence in building socialism to vacillate.

CSO: 4004/57

## ON 'YES-MEN'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 83 p 41

[Article by Zhang Xiang (from SHIJIAN (PRACTICE) No 21, 1983, published in Nei Monggol)]

[Text] At present some units have a large number of "yes-men" who are very popular.

By "yes-men," I do not mean those who do not poke their noses into other people's business, but those who are tactful in dealing with people.

They always take an equivocal attitude, keep their mouths shut, and look but do not see. They turn a blind eye to evil deeds and evildoers. They do not criticize or combat but shut their eyes to opinions and actions which go against the four basic principles.

In respect to human relationships, they try to befriend others and do not offend them. They endeavor to be in harmony with their superiors, subordinates, and people around them. They are eager to do things which please others but reluctant to do anything to offend. They are docile and obedient to their leaders and they take their cues from them. They cater to their comrades' tastes and fall in with their wishes. They feel very sorry for those who are not awarded or promoted, saying: "Oh, it's unfair. Your performance is good and I believe you have met the requirements." They show particular concern for those who have not been admitted to the party, saying: "You are senior enough to meet the basic requirements for being admitted to the party. I approve your application." They feel great sympathy for those who have made mistakes, by saying: "There are many similar cases; problems which are even more serious than yours have not been dealt with; it's nothing serious..." The people concerned are deeply moved by their fine-sounding words. For they offend nobody if they stay away from conflict and do not stick to their principles. Many people have a good opinion of them for they always please their superior and subordinates.

The "good" quality which they are after by all means is "selfish" in nature. They always make personal gains at the expense of the party's principles and the interests of the state and the people. Their behavior is a form of individualism.

At present, the ubiquitous existence of "yes-men" has seriously obstructed the strengthening of our fragile ideological frontline, the party consolidation, and the eradication of undesirable social trends. It is a matter of principle which should not be overlooked. So far as some party members are concerned, they may offend others or may be attacked or even dismissed from office if they stick to their principles and adhere to the party's spirit. They can, however, contribute to party consolidation and the eradication of undesirable social trends. This is exactly what we should do.

CSO: 4004/59



EXPLANATIONS OF SEVERAL IMPORTANT NOTIONS IN 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 83 pp 42-46

[Article by RED FLAG Theoretical Education Editorial Office; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] XII. On Party Building

48. /"Without the CPC, there would not have been a socialist new China."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 156)

(By Li Zhiyong [2621 2535 0516])

"Without the CPC, there would not have been a socialist new China" is a truth which has been verified repeatedly by the history of China over the past century or more and is a scientific conclusion drawn by the Chinese people from the course of struggle traversed by the CPC over the past 62 years.

China was reduced to the state of a semicolonial and semifeudal society after the Opium War of 1840. Countless people with lofty ideals had waged relentless struggles in their efforts to change this backward and down-trodden state of the motherland, but had all failed. Only the CPC was able to lead the people of all nationalities in achieving victory in the people's democratic revolution. "Without the CPC, there would not have been a socialist new China." This fact has long since been proved by the protracted revolutionary practice of the Chinese people.

Since the founding of new China, the CPC has achieved a series of brilliant successes in leading the broad masses of the people to carry out socialist revolution and large-scale socialist construction. We have established a state power based on the people's democratic dictatorship and the people have truly become the masters of the state. We have eradicated the system of exploitation which had lasted for several thousand years, established the socialist system of the public ownership of the means of production, and instituted the system of distribution according to work. We have established a new type of comradely relationship based on equality between people. We also have established a fairly solid socialist material base

and the social productive forces have grown tremendously. In 1982, the total value of industrial and agricultural output was 9.24 times more than in 1952 when the national economy had just recovered. Of this, the output of grain was up by 1.16 times, and that of cotton 1.75 times, oil-bearing crops 1.82 times, steel 26.52 times, electricity 43.89 times, coal 9.09 times, and crude oil 231 times. With close to 400,000 industrial enterprises, China basically has established an independent and fairly comprehensive industrial system and national economic structure. The speed of our economic construction not only greatly exceeds India, which shares similar conditions and started off at about the same time, but surpasses most capitalist countries. We have built a powerful People's Army and have our own atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, and intercontinental carrier rockets. All these have enhanced our national strength and boosted our international status. Gone are the days when the Chinese people were looked down upon, bullied, and trampled upon. Without the CPC, which serves as the core of leadership of the Chinese people, unites and educates the people, organizes and propels the people in pressing forward, and charts for the people the orientation of struggle and the correct way to victory, we never would have achieved such brilliant victories. "Without the CPC, there would not have been a socialist new China." This fact also has been proved by the practice of socialist revolution and construction of the Chinese people.

Today, we are marching toward the grand objective of achieving the four modernizations. Success in this endeavor is also impossible without the leadership of the CPC. The kind of modernization we are striving for is socialist modernization. It is based on the socialist system of public ownership and its aim is to greatly develop the socialist productive forces, to constantly satisfy the growing material and cultural needs of members of the public, and to create the necessary social conditions for the gradual transition to communism. Socialist modernization not only needs a highly developed material civilization, it also needs a highly developed spiritual civilization. In order to keep to the socialist orientation of the four modernizations, we must use communist ideas to educate the masses and to train and bring up a generation of socialist new people while building a high degree of material civilization. It is obviously impossible to accomplish such a great task without the leadership of the CPC. Actually, in present-day China, there is no political party other than the CPC which is capable of shouldering this important task. The great practice of the four modernizations will further prove that without the CPC, it would have been impossible to build China into a modern socialist country with a high degree of civilization and democracy.

At present, a small number of comrades doubt the party's ability to lead the modernization program because the party had made mistakes at some time in the past and some party members still show unhealthy tendencies. This is obviously an erroneous view which reflects a lack of analysis. It is true that our party did make quite a number of mistakes in the past 20 years and more. These mistakes chiefly resulted from subjectivist errors in analyzing the situation and in sizing up the national conditions. We made the mistakes of widening the scope of the class struggle and making reckless

advance in economic construction prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution." Then the "Great Cultural Revolution" broke out. This was a grave mistake which affected the whole country for a long time. Even today, unhealthy tendencies such as bureaucratism and the practice of seeking special privileges still exist in our party. However, compared with the great achievements made by the people under the leadership of our party, these errors are only of secondary importance. After all, those who indulged in unsavory practices within the party account for a small number and cannot represent the mainstream of the party. Our comrades should not fail to see the forest for the trees.

No political party is immune to mistakes. Socialism is a brand-new social system and there is no ready experience in history from which it can draw lessons. Moreover, it is in a vast and populous country with complicated and difficult conditions that our party leads the people to carry out socialist revolution and construction. Under such circumstances, mistakes are all the more unavoidable. The CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese working class and represents the fundamental interests of all nationalities in China. It is guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and has mastered the law of social development. This character and these distinguishing features of the CPC are the basic reasons why it has been able to unite and lead the people in the march to victory. We should not confuse the inevitable mistakes made by the party with the party's character and distinguishing features. There are complicated reasons for the engendering of unhealthy tendencies inside the party. These too should not be confounded with the party's character and distinguishing features.

Our party is reared in the fine tradition of criticism and self-criticism. The mistakes made by our party and the unhealthy tendencies within our party are always rectified by our party and not by anyone else. This is best illustrated by the extensive efforts made by the party in setting things right in connection with the ideological, political, and organizational lines and in economic work, by the enormous efforts made in rectifying the party style and by the great achievements made in these respects since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Lenin said: "Openly acknowledge mistakes, expose the causes of mistakes, analyze the circumstances in which mistakes arose, and discuss in detail the ways to correct these mistakes--these are the signs of a serious party." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 213) Practice shows that our party is such a serious party. People of integrity should fully take note of this and should not question the party's ability to lead when the party is openly exposing and resolutely correcting its mistakes and has been achieving notable results.

49. /"In order to adhere to party leadership, it is necessary to improve party leadership."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 317)

(By Gao Zhihua [7559 1907 5478])

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has emphatically pointed out in a number of public addresses made since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central

Committee that "in order to adhere to party leadership, it is necessary to improve party leadership." This guiding ideology is of great significance in doing a good job of party consolidation and building our party into a strong core of leadership for the socialist modernization program.

Adhering to party leadership is the core of the four basic principles that must be upheld. It is the fundamental guarantee for the realization of the socialist modernization program. Only by adhering to the leadership of the party will it be possible to adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the socialist road and organize the masses in their hundreds of millions into a unified contingent so that they can contribute their share toward the socialist modernization program.

However, adherence to party leadership must be combined with the improvement of party leadership. The party must continuously overcome shortcomings, rectify mistakes, and avoid errors. Only in this way can party leadership be strengthened and can our cause advance continuously. The history of our party over the past 60 years and more is one of constant self-improvement while remolding the objective world. This precisely shows the progressiveness and strength of our party and is what essentially distinguishes our party from other bourgeois political parties. The existing state of affairs inside the party since the smashing of the "gang of four" indeed calls for improvement. The reasons are as follows: First, because the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has not yet been completely eliminated and party style basically has not yet taken a favorable turn, and because various ideas of the exploiting classes have been exerting a stronger corrosive influence under the new situation, problems of serious impurities in thinking, work style, and organizational life are indeed present in our party. Second, China has entered a new historical period and the realization of the socialist modernization program has now become the common objective of the whole party and the people of all our nationalities. However, our party is in many ways still unable to keep up with the new situation and the new tasks confronting us.

In order to improve party leadership, we must first improve the party's political and ideological leadership. Party leadership, as clearly defined by the new party constitution, mainly refers to political, ideological, and organizational leadership. The party must formulate and carry out correct lines, principles and policies, do a good job of organizational work and the work of propaganda and education, and encourage all its members to play an exemplary vanguard role in all work and in social life. With Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guide, the party Central Committee has been setting things to right, correctly analyzing the actual conditions of China's revolution and construction at the present stage, and formulating political, ideological, and organizational lines that conform to objective reality and represent the fundamental interests of the broadest masses of the people since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, thus completely shifting our party's line onto the track of Marxism-Leninism and making a decisive step toward improving party leadership politically. At present, an important link in adhering to and improving

party leadership is to establish close ties between the party and the masses, do a good job of ideological and political work, and translate the party's line, principles, and policies into actual actions of the masses. To this end, it is necessary to strengthen the party's work among the workers, peasants, and intellectuals, pay special attention to giving play to the role of a bridge played by mass organizations such as trade unions, women's federations, and the CYL, take effective measures to conduct ideological education on communism among the workers, peasants, and intellectuals with their distinguishing features in mind, and recruit the qualified ones into the party. We must mobilize all positive factors, rally the people of all our nationalities closely round the party, and strive for the realization of the party's general task in the new period with one heart and one mind.

Second, in order to improve party leadership, we must improve the party's organizational leadership and strengthen the party's organizational and cadre work. Correct political and ideological lines of the party, once determined, have to be carried out by a large number of cadres who have both ability and political integrity. And, a good deal of concrete organizational work needs to be done. Our cadre ranks and organizational work are not quite up to this task. The prominent problems are: The average age of cadres in the leading groups is high and there are relatively few middle-aged and young cadres. Cultural level is low, professionals are scarce, and managerial standard is poor. Moreover, the structure of the entire cadre ranks is irrational. Inside the party, people of three categories, namely, those who rose to prominence by following the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques in "rebellion," those who harbor seriously factionalist ideas, and those who indulged in beating, smashing and looting, have not been completely weeded out. Some party members and cadres have forgotten the purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people. They take advantage of their position and power to seek personal gains and have developed serious bureaucratic ways. Some party organizations are flabby and lax in discipline. Some are even paralyzed and are unable to play their role as combat bastions. All this directly affects the party's prestige and the implementation of the party's principles and policies. In order to solve these problems, it is necessary to purify the party organizations, restructure the line-up of cadres, further consolidate the leading groups at all levels, consolidate party organizations at the grassroots level, promote cadres who adhere to the four basic principles, who have the professional know-how and organizational ability and who are in their prime of life to strengthen leading groups at all levels, do a good job of building up the third echelon and providing training and education to cadres, and speed up the work of making the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and professionally more competent. At the same time, it is necessary to make proper arrangements for veteran cadres who have retired to the second or third lines and effectively bring into play their role in passing on experience, giving help and setting an example in training new hands so as to facilitate cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of the old by the new.

Third, we must reform the system of party and state leadership and properly handle the question of the division of labor between party and government.

The main aim of reforming the system of leadership and the leading organs of the party and state is to eliminate such defects as overconcentration of power, proliferation of concurrent and deputy posts, organizational overlapping, lack of clear-cut job responsibility, overstaffing, and failure to separate party work from government work, and in these ways overcome bureaucracy and increase work efficiency. Correctly distinguishing between the responsibilities of the party and the government is a matter of great importance in organizational restructuring. It is also an important measure for improving party leadership. In order to reform the system of leadership which fails to separate party work from government work and which substitutes the responsibilities of the party for those of the government, it is necessary to clearly define the scope of party and government functions and powers. On the whole, the principal leading comrades of party organizations at all levels should not concurrently hold government posts, and government departments should be left to grasp concrete work of a professional nature. In this way, the failure to separate party work from government work and the substitution of the former for the latter can be avoided. At the same time, the party organizations and their principal leading cadres can extricate themselves from day-to-day work and concentrate their energy on studying the major policies of the party, on attending to party management, the allocation and use of principal cadres, and the education of party members, and on strengthening the party's ideological and political work among the cadres and masses. Of course, while the division of labor between party and government is emphasized, major policy decisions concerning government and economic work must still be made by the party, and all party members working in government organizations, enterprises, and institutions must resolutely submit themselves to party leadership and carry out the party's policies.

Fourth, improve the party's system of democratic centralism and strengthen the sense of discipline in party organizations. Thanks to efforts made since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, political life in the party, and first of all in the Central Committee, after being seriously abnormal for so many years, has now gradually returned to the correct path--the path of Marxism. There also has been marked improvement in the political life of many local party organizations. However, we also must realize that undemocratic practices and patriarchal ways still have not been eradicated in some party organizations, and cases of decentralism and liberalism exist to a serious extent. All this hinders the implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies and weakens its fighting capacity. In order to overcome these phenomena, the important thing is to "truly exercise the system of democratic centralism and collective leadership in inner-party life and in the political life of the state, and to resolutely rectify the malpractices of 'what one person says goes,' each going his own way and refusing to carry out the decisions made by the collective." (Ibid., p 319) At the same time, it is necessary to strictly uphold party discipline, strengthen the sense of discipline in party organizations, and reiterate the organizational principle which says that the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level, and the entire membership to the Central Committee. Unhealthy tendencies in the party and violations



of discipline should be criticized and punished accordingly and should not be ignored and tolerated. We must use strict party discipline to ensure party unity and the fighting capacity of the party organization.

If we adopt the concrete measures discussed above to overcome shortcomings, rectify the unwholesome trends inside the party, improve our ideological and work styles, enhance the art of leadership and raise the level of leadership, we will be able to better build our party into a strong core capable of leading the people of the whole country in the socialist modernization program.

50. /"The question of rectification is indeed present in our party."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 245)

(By Shi Xiaoping [4258 2400 1627])

Comrade Deng Xiaoping raised the question of party rectification as early as 1975 in view of the harm done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, he again brought up this question before the whole party, pointing out that the rectification of the style and organization of the party is one of the most important guarantees of the modernization program. The passages concerning party building in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" are important teaching materials for the current party rectification and should be studied in earnest by every party member and cadre.

The CPC is a long-tested and great Marxist political party. It has led the Chinese people to achieve great victories in revolution and construction and has thus established a glorious image in the minds of the people of all our nationalities. It enjoys high prestige. Although the party's ideology, style, and organization suffered tremendously during the decade of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the mainstream of the party ranks is still pure and still has great fighting capacity. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has reestablished the Marxist line and has done a whole lot of work in many different fields, such as shifting the focus of work, summing up historical experience since the founding of the PRC, carrying out organizational reform, strengthening democracy and the legal system, cracking down on serious economic offenses and criminal activities, carrying forward the party's fine traditions, and carrying out education on communist ideology. Consequently, the party's condition has improved considerably. However, because we have not yet had the time to carry out overall and systematic rectification in regard to the host of problems in the party's ideology, style, and organization; because we have not conducted universal and adequate education for party members; because the pernicious influence of the decade of domestic turmoil has not been eliminated; and because we have not tried hard enough in resisting and fighting against the corrosive influence of decadent capitalist ideas and feudal vestiges, serious problems still abound and it is a matter of great urgency to carry out overall party rectification. Chief among these serious problems are:

1. There still exist two erroneous ideological trends within the party. On the one hand, some party members and party cadres have not yet cast off the shackles of "left" ideas. They distort the four basic principles. They are skeptical about and resent the party's line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Some even openly resist these. On the other hand, some party members and party cadres cannot withstand the test of past frustrations. They are corroded by capitalist ideas and are skeptical and negative about the four basic principles. They deviate from the party's line, principles, and basic policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, preach bourgeois liberalism, and spread spiritual pollution. These two erroneous trends are incompatible with the party's character, program, and historical mission and seriously impair efforts to achieve a high degree of ideological and political identity in the whole party.

2. Some party members and party cadres have completely forgotten the purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people and are seriously bloated with individualistic ideas. Rather than correctly making use of the authority and working conditions given us by the party and the people to work for the good of the people, they try by every means to exploit their office in order to seek personal gains for themselves and for the people around them. They seek special privileges, violate the law and discipline, and infringe upon the interests of the state and the masses. They ignore the laws of the state, shield and cover up for criminals, and even directly take part in smuggling, corruption, speculation, and profiteering, thus degenerating into criminals themselves.

Some leading party cadres harbor seriously bureaucratic ideas. Their revolutionary will is waning. They act like high and mighty officials, loaf around all day long, and do nothing. In work, they dispute over trifles, shirk responsibilities, and counteract each other's efforts. Their serious dereliction of duty has caused the party and state tremendous losses politically and economically.

3. Some leading party cadres place themselves above the party organization, indulge in the practice of "what I say goes," and even turn the units under their charge into domains where they rule supreme and where collective leadership exists in name only. Some party members and party cadres ignore the organizational principle and discipline of the party, substitute factionalism for party spirit, draw factional lines, and form factions for selfish ends. Anarchism, liberalism, and decentralism also exist to a serious extent. In many party organizations, organizational life is so unsound that it is impossible to carry out criticism and self-criticism, strictly enforce party discipline, and wage struggle against unwholesome tendencies. They are flabby and lax. Some are even in a paralyzed or semi-paralyzed state and fail to function as fighting bastions.

4. People who persistently oppose and endanger the party, such as "people of three categories" (those who followed the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary gangs in "rebellion," those who harbor seriously factionalist ideas, and those who indulged in beating, smashing and looting),

people who stubbornly resist the party's line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, people who have committed serious offenses in economic and other criminal matters, as well as others who have seriously violated law and discipline, have not been completely weeded out from the party.

This severe impurity in ideology, style, and organizational life seriously hinders the implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies and does great harm to socialist modernization. It seriously damages the body of the party and its image in the minds of the people, dampens people's enthusiasm in politics, production, work, and study, and shakes the conviction of the masses within and outside the party in the superiority of the socialist system and in the far-reaching ideals of communism. The presence of these problems and their outcome show that in addition to a handful of people who persistently oppose and endanger the party, there are also some unqualified members inside our party. Quite a number of young party members lack an understanding of the basic theory of Marxism and elementary knowledge about the party, and have not gone through rigorous tempering in revolutionary practice and inner-party political life. We must help them mature through party rectification. Some old party members were very much qualified at one time but for some reason they can no longer set an example for the masses and are not quite qualified now. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The question of whether or not one is qualified and can measure up to the requirements applies not only to new party members but also to some old party members as well. Thus, the question of rectification is indeed present in our party." (Ibid., p 233) If we do not resolutely and effectively rectify the party, weed out those who persistently oppose and endanger the party, educate those members who do not qualify, bring about a fundamental turn for the better in party style, and preserve the purity of the party ideologically, organizationally, and in connection with style, our party will not be able to shoulder the historic mission of leading the people of all our nationalities in building a modern and powerful country. It can thus be seen that an overall party rectification not only is necessary but is a matter of pressing importance.

The presence of these serious problems in our party shows that the tasks of party rectification are arduous. However, our party has the faith, the condition, and the strength to overcome its seamy aspects and correct its mistakes through the present rectification and can consequently press forward with still greater vigor.

To begin with, rectifying and building the whole of our party well is not just a firm and unshakable policy decision of the party Central Committee, it is also the strong aspiration and demand of the broad masses within and outside the party. Thus, it has the support of the party and the people. Our party not only has a large number of long-tested and staunch proletarian fighters who can play a key role in the present party rectification, but the majority of its members are politically conscious and can uphold the party's principles and safeguard the party's interests. This, plus the active support given by the broad masses of the people within and outside the party, means that our party will definitely be able to carry forward its fine traditions and overcome unhealthy trends and evil practices.

Besides, we have the guidance of correct and complete party-building theory. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has reestablished the Marxist line, formulated the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," passed the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," and adopted the new party constitution at its 12th national congress. All this means that Comrade Mao Zedong's party-building theory has not only been restored but has been further developed. The "Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC on Party Rectification" adopted by the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee clearly set forth the basic principles, tasks, policies and methods of the present party rectification. All this will make it possible for the present party rectification to proceed along the correct path.

Furthermore, through efforts to set things to right in our guiding ideology and actual work since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have properly straightened out many major problems left over from the past and have systematically summed up historical experiences since the founding of the PRC. We then proceeded to carry out organizational reform, rectify the leading groups of the party at various levels, crack down on serious economic offenses and other criminal activities of a grave nature, and wage a struggle against acts of infringing upon the interests of the state and the people. We have conducted party rectification in selected units at the local and central levels and gained some new experience. All this work and achievements have prepared us well and laid a solid foundation for the present overall party rectification.

Last but not least, our party not only has negative experiences from the decade of domestic turmoil and "left" mistakes prior to that period, but also has positive experiences from the Yanan rectification and efforts to set things right since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. By drawing comparisons and distinctions between positive and negative experiences, the vast number of party members and cadres will definitely be able to uphold the principles, seek truth from facts, correctly carry out criticism and self-criticism, distinguish between right and wrong, and rectify their mistakes.

With the favorable conditions discussed above and through concerted efforts, comrades of the whole party and party organizations at all levels will definitely be able to successfully accomplish the tasks of unifying thinking, rectifying style, strengthening discipline and purifying the ranks, and bring about a fundamental turn for the better in the party's ideology, style, and organizational life, greatly heighten the level of Marxism in the whole party, and help our party achieve greater vigor and vitality.

CSO: 4004/59

THE KEY TO CARRYING OUT OUR STUDIES WELL LIES IN THE LEADING CADRES' TAKING THE LEAD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 83 pp 47-48

[Article by the Propaganda Department of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region CPC Committee]

[Text] Since the publication of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," leading comrades from the regional CPC committee have taken the lead in conscientiously studying the book, carried out propaganda among cadres, and persisted in integrating theory with practice to lead the broad masses of cadres in the studies. Up to the end of September, the whole region has run training courses for cadres who are released from their work for the study in rotation and study courses for theoretical guidance, totaling nearly 200 courses. Some leagues, cities, banners, and counties have organized theoretical cadres into guiding teams to go deep into rural areas, grazing areas, and industrial and mining enterprises to give guidance. Taken as a whole, the results of the studies have been quite good. In order to carry out the studies persistently and in a deeper way, we must continue to spare no effort and study conscientiously. The regional CPC committee has taken the following measures in organizing and leading the studies.

I. Leading Cadres Take the Lead in Raising Understanding and Carrying Out Studies Conscientiously

The standing committee of the autonomous regional CPC committee has paid very much attention to the studies. Leading cadres from this standing committee are of the opinion that the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" represents a product of the period of the great historical turning point and brilliant documents that have persisted in and developed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought during the new historical period. These works have reflected the demands of the era and the will of the people and they represent required reading for the people of various nationalities across the country who are building socialism with Chinese features. The leading comrades of the regional CPC committee held that as long as they are able to study well the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," to further understand the line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and to keep politically abreast of the Central

Committee, they will be able to create a new situation in their effort to realize the modernization program and to fulfill various tasks. They also understand that they have to set an example for the cadres across the region in the study.

Leading comrades from the regional CPC committee stressed on a number of occasions that it is necessary first of all to read through the whole of the selected works so as to understand this book as a whole. Prior to the study, some comrades one-sidedly held that the articles and speeches by Comrade Deng Xiaoping are only in opposition to the "left." Therefore, in guiding the study, the regional CPC committee has paid very much attention to guiding cadres to understand the essence of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" in an overall way. Through their conscientious study, the broad masses of cadres have finally come to realize that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's exposition about emancipating thinking and upholding the four basic principles is in opposition not only to the "left" but also to the right. For example, Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed time and again the importance of stepping up ideological and political work, strengthening the organizational discipline of the whole CPC, changing the weak, incompetent, and slack situation on the ideological front, and criticizing the wrong tendencies of attempting a divorce from socialism and the leadership of the CPC and the introduction of bourgeois liberalism. All these views are opposed to the right. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed the necessity of carrying out an open-door policy, he also said that it is imperative to resolutely crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic sector; these views are opposed to both the "left" and the right. Through study, the broad masses of cadres have heightened their consciousness of launching the struggle between the two lines. As a result, they have become aware of the importance of continuously eliminating "leftist" influence, and, at the same time, they are also aware of the importance of preventing and overcoming rightist tendencies. With this understanding, these cadres have consciously plunged themselves into the forefront of the struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution.

## II. Restore and Perfect the Study System so as To Guarantee the Study

In order to study well the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," the regional CPC committee has stressed the importance of restoring and perfecting the study system and has rapidly restored the study for the central team. The central team takes the form of self-study as the main. On the basis of thorough reading, it put forth specialized study subjects (such as the CPC ideological line, the necessity, principles, and policies of restructuring, the building of material civilization and spiritual civilization, and CPC building and shake-up). With these subjects in mind, members of the team intensively read the related articles and carried out discussions. Members of the standing committee expressed their views on key points on the basis of their division of work. Through study and discussions, members of this team go among cadres to give guidance. The central team has also decided that following the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" must be combined with the study of all the documents of the 2d plenary session.



As there is a system to guarantee the study of the central team, members of this team have more time to make preparation for their speeches, while their discussions are higher in quality. Comrade Zhou Hui, first secretary of the autonomous regional CPC committee, first made a systematic speech to the team with regard to such aspects as how to study well the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," emancipate thinking, and uphold the four basic principles and restructuring work in Nei Monggol. Other standing committee members aired their views on key points to the team. Led by the standing committee, the CPC committees above banner and county level that have restored central teams for the study total 165. The members of these central teams have carried out their studies conscientiously and have carried out discussions on the basis of reality. For example, the central team of Baotou City CPC Committee had specialized study and discussions on the questions of intellectuals, as expounded in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." Integrating the study and discussions with the specific situation of the city, the team found the problems in implementing the policy on intellectuals. Consequently, it studied the method of how to solve the problems and worked out three measures for improving the work on intellectuals.

### III. Establish a Good Style of Study That Integrates Theory With Practice and Help Cadres Solve Their Ideology and Understanding

The regional CPC committee is of the opinion that in order to study well the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" it is imperative to establish a good style of study, because this style of study is vital in determining the results of the study. In studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" it is necessary first of all to read conscientiously so as to grasp the essence of the articles. It is also necessary to combine the study with ideology and work. In this way, we will be able to find problems and differences and to make achievements and raise our understanding through the study. The study of specialized subjects is helpful in combining it with reality and in carrying it out in a deeper way. Concretely speaking, this method includes defining specialized subjects of study and intensive reading around these subjects; and concentrated discussions, including disseminating speeches and directives of leading comrades from the CPC Central Committee and discussing affairs from the point of view of theory and discussing theory on the basis of reality. The aim of these activities is to sum up experiences and lessons. This study method is helpful in understanding viewpoints in a deeper way and in discussing specialized subjects profoundly so as to integrate study with reality and definite purpose. Consequently, this method of study has made considerable achievements. For example, the regional CPC committee was informed that some comrades had a wrong understanding on the policies issued since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and they considered that these policies were divorced from Marxist-Leninist principles and socialism. Leading comrades from the regional CPC committee integrated their study and discussions with specific situations of Nei Monggol to profoundly expound that the line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are in line with Marxism-Leninism, and they are correct. Under the guidance of these leading cadres, the cadres with wrong

understanding conscientiously studied the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and combined their study with the specific situations in localities. Thanks to the study, these comrades began to understand that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, measures have been taken in rural and grazing areas to largely implement the principle of restructuring and that through the introduction of the production responsibility system, good all-round harvests have been recorded in livestock production, grain, edible oil, and sugar. Compared with 1978, the number of livestock in 1982 increased by 18.6 percent, with an average growth of 4.4 percent annually. Grain output increased by 28.9 percent, with an average annual growth of 6 percent. Output of oil-bearing crops increased by 2.9 times and the output of sugarbeet increased by 1.7 times. Now the average income of the peasants in the region is 273 yuan and the figure for herdsmen is 396 yuan, each doubling the figure for 1978. This great change made people understand that the improvement is attributable to the effort of implementing the ideological line of seeking truth from facts that is put forth by the CPC Central Committee. The line, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are based on reality and they have been put forth following analyses of the national condition of China on the basis of seeking truth from facts. These line, principles, and policies are the products of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the specific situation of the country. As pointed out by leading comrades from the CPC Central Committee, the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" have been regarded by many comrades as representing the great program for the building of a socialist country with Chinese features. These works of Comrade Deng Xiaoping represent a theoretical foundation for defining the line, principles, and policies of the CPC and represent the correct orientation for the various tasks in realizing the modernization program. They have also inherited and developed Mao Zedong Thought.

It is an important question for Nei Monggol to implement nationality policy and to constantly strengthen the unity of the people of various nationalities. Comrade Bu He, deputy secretary of the autonomous regional CPC committee and chairman of the autonomous regional government, spoke of his achievements in his study in connection with this question to enlighten other comrades. His guidance has vigorously promoted the study of this question by other comrades. Following the study of the related expositions in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," cadres have consequently deepened their understanding of the important directives of the CPC Central Committee concerning the work in Nei Monggol, have raised their consciousness in strengthening the unity of the people of various nationalities, and have further fostered the thinking that the cadres of the Han nationality and those of various minority nationalities "are inseparable from each other." They are deeply aware that the great unity of the people of various nationalities represents the basic guarantee for the realization of the general tasks of the new period and that the realization of the modernization program represents the basic interest of the people of various nationalities. They have also come to understand that the people of various nationalities must unite to form themselves into a force and make concerted efforts in realizing the modernization program. Under the impetus of the study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," the region held a rally in

September, the first of its kind in the region since the founding of the PRC, to praise the unity of the people of various nationalities so that the national unity will take still deeper root in the hearts of the people.

#### IV. Leadership Must Take the Lead in Disseminating, Guiding and Popularizing Good Study Experience To Create the Climax of the Study Across the Region

The regional CPC committee is of the opinion that in order to do a good job in the study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," it is not enough just to rely on disseminating work and the comrades who are responsible for such work. The leadership at various levels must grasp this work and take the lead in disseminating and giving guidance. Consequently, the regional CPC committee demanded that the leading cadres taking part in the study must carry out dissemination work among the masses. Comrade Bu He; Comrade Liu Guilian, deputy secretary of the autonomous regional CPC committee; and Comrade Tian Congming, standing committee member of the autonomous regional CPC committee, made study guidance reports to the cadres of the departments directly under the regional CPC committee and government respectively in connection with the historical experience of the region since it was founded, the replacement of old cadres by younger cadres and the building of ranks of cadres that are more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professionally competent, and the ideological line and style of work following the setting up of the new leading group. The propaganda team of the CPC committee of Wu League visited 14 banners and cities to carry out propaganda work, with more than 6,200 of the cadres above CPC branch secretary and deputy department director levels attending the activities. Incomplete statistics show that leading cadres from bureaus, leagues, and cities across the region made guidance reports on 92 occasions. These activities are carried out on the basis of the spirit of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" in connection with specific conditions in localities and the situations of the ideology and understanding of the masses. Consequently, these activities are well received by the masses. Practice proves that when the responsible members of CPC committees at various levels are able to take the lead in the study and dissemination, they will have great influence on the masses and effectively promote the study across the region.

Leading comrades from the autonomous regional CPC committee have not only taken the lead in disseminating and giving guidance but have also grasped training courses for cadres who are released from their work to study in rotation and theoretical guiding courses across the region so that these backbone cadres will be able to display their roles among the masses in the process of the study. In addition, they have also gone deep into the masses to help solve the problems that have cropped up during the study and to help sum up and popularize the good experiences and methods accumulated by basic units in their study. For example, they have summed up and popularized the good experiences of various places with regard to the forms of the study, with different methods used in different places. According to the experience of Ba League, the method of self-study which is combined with the training of a small number of cadres who are released from their

jobs to study in rotation is practical for the cadres of CPC and government organs. The method used by Huhehot City textile company and machinery company, which is characterized by self-study combined with discussions on specialized subjects, is applicable to cadres of enterprises. The method of lead-reading and giving guidance before and after work shifts, and which is combined with dissemination, can be used by workshop and team workers. Training courses in rotation are suitable for CPC members and CYL members and they are better organized to study collectively. Various and flexible study forms are in a position to give consideration to the different work of those who are to take part in the study and to their ability to accept the knowledge, and their results have been quite good.

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## THE FOOLISH OLD MAN AND THE MOUNTAIN TOP

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 83 inside back cover

[Article by Bi Yuyan [1732 6657 1484]]

[Text] It is natural that those who are indolent and afraid of difficulties do not like the foolish old man. Those who are fond of factionalism dislike him more. They fear that they may lose their foothold once they are in favor of the foolish old man.

The majority of the people, however, respect the foolish old man. Although throughout his life he had lived opposite the mountain, it was not until he was 90 that he came to realize the mountain's obstructiveness. Once he realized that he should level down the mountain, he was duty-bound and did not turn back. He immediately discussed his plan with his family and mobilized his sons and grandsons to open up a wide road through the south of Henan Province. They tried their best to level down the mountain. They were unswerving, even though the "smart people" teased them and dissuaded them from carrying out their work. This is undoubtedly the image of an ancient reformer who was persistent, innovative and down-to-earth. The reason this image has set an example to numerous modern revolutionaries is that they share the same spirit--the foolish old man's spirit of removing the mountain!

A small number of modern revolutionaries are still infatuated with their mountain strongholds and they have not been awakened. They do not have the feeling that they are "obstructed" or "pedantic." On the contrary, they are "backed by the mountain and they feed on it." They are complacent, conservative, and reluctant to open up a wide road. Worse still, they indefatigably protect their mountain strongholds, appoint "people on their side" to hold public office, and share power within their "inner circle." They are on tenderhooks that they may lose an inch of their mountain strongholds. It seems to them that they may be suspended in midair and lose their foothold once their mountain strongholds are removed. It is unlikely that they are men of vision and high caliber.

It is true that the Chinese revolution took a turn for the better after it had been shifted from urban areas to mountain strongholds. Historically, revolutionary bases such as Jinggangshan and Taixingshan were founded and

they were linked up to form the new China. However, the founding of such revolutionary bases was only a result of our military inferiority to our enemies, a miracle in Chinese revolution, and the glory of all revolutionaries. Not only were the revolutionaries "driven to revolt," but they had to display their might to usher in a new era. Even at that time the people did not confuse the construction of revolutionary bases with factionalism. They labored to build up new bases while they opposed and got rid of factionalism, for both targets were to be achieved. Now the people are in a new era in Chinese history. They are confronted with a spacious and boundless world. To open up a new way, they have to widen their perspective, keep abreast of the times, and strive more staunchly with the majority of the masses. Will it not be totally foolish and ridiculous for them to ignore these new conditions and historical requirements while being obsessed with the protection of their mountain strongholds and particularly with their cliques' interests? Those who are under the delusion that their foothold will be stabilized and their orders will be carried out only when their mountain strongholds are tenaciously defended are in a state of "being isolated on the barren mountain and asking a tiger for protection." It is unlikely that the localities, departments, and units which are run by such people will open up a new road. If they really want to do so, they should not cover up their errors or make any overstatements, but instead share the foolish old man's discontent with the obstructiveness and pedantry, his desperate need to open up a new road to the south of Henan Province, and his determination to take substantial action to level down the mountain.

Those who tenaciously defend their mountain strongholds and think they are clever are contemptible; those who discard factionalism and keep abreast of the times are respectable.

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A FAIRLY GOOD TEACH-YOURSELF BOOK--INTRODUCING 'PHILOSOPHY,' TEACH-YOURSELF GUIDANCE MATERIAL ON BASIC SUBJECTS FOR PARTY AND GOVERNMENT CADRES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 83 outside back cover

[Article by Niu Geng [3662 5087]]

[Text] "Philosophy," teach-yourself guidance material on basic subjects for party and government cadres, is compiled by Xiao Qian, Li Shaolin, et al. and published by RED FLAG Publishing Co.

In the first place, the book makes a fairly correct exposition of the philosophical tenets of Marxism. In giving an account of each of the tenets, it not only insists on the basic views of Marxism, but also pays attention to counteracting the weaknesses of previous textbooks. For instance, some textbooks emphasize the abstract human nature possessed in common. This book, however, stresses that human nature is the sum total of all social relationships. Some textbooks have missed the universal relationship when explaining dialectics. In this respect, the book is supplemented with new materials. Some textbooks do not say much about what practice is when explaining epistemology. A section of this book makes an exposition of the characteristics and forms of practice. While making a correct exposition of the function of class struggle, the book also emphasizes that productivity is a material force which is the ultimate determinant of social development. In the past, books which discuss the determinant role played by the masses of the people in making history have often overlooked the role played by mental laborers. The book has made an appraisal of the role played by such workers.

Moreover, the book pays more attention to illustrating practical matters through basic theory. In making an exposition of basic theories, the book also attaches much importance to combining the positive and negative experience gained during the past decades. It also illustrates theoretically the scientific grounds of the revolutionary line, guiding principles, policies, and targets adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. It also discusses both the theoretical and practical aspects of constructing socialism with distinctive Chinese features.

The book also attaches importance to raising practical questions which concern the masses of cadres. What is the relationship between abstract

philosophy and actual life? Why is it that basic philosophical problems have become fundamental problems in our practical work? Why is it that success can be achieved only when dialectics is adopted? Why has our party attached much importance to the construction of socialist culture while taking economic construction as its major task since the third plenary session? All these questions have been discussed theoretically. Those who study philosophy on their own may find the book interesting.

Furthermore, the book explains the profound in simple terms and it makes the focal points stand out. In order to suit the cadres who study on their own, the book does not proceed from the concepts but from the practice in discussing theories. It then introduces philosophical precepts and further develops them. For instance, in discussing what philosophy is, the book does not give a definition of philosophy first; it starts by saying that men often have to have contact with the objective world. It goes on to people's views on nature, state, felicity, and life, and then to the formation of a world outlook. It goes on to say that philosophy is not a general world outlook, but a systematic and theoretical one. The book proceeds from the easy to the difficult and follows a logical train of thought and its approach is therefore easily acceptable. The book helps to explain the mystery of philosophy. Moreover, as a teach-yourself book, it possesses the quality of giving prominence to focal points. It gives beginners in philosophy clear direction in how to get hold of the basics of each chapter and principle. Questions which are raised after each section for readers to consider enable them to grasp the key points.

The book's weaknesses are that some issues are not discussed in depth or are even omitted (such as major contradictions) and that it is not precise enough. It is our hope that the writers will consider opinions from all quarters and make necessary amendments so that the book will be perfected in its revised edition.

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